Parallel Classics

Caesar

Matt Estill

PARALLEL EDITION OF THE CLASSICS.

THE

FIRST FOUR BOOKS

OF

CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES

ON THE

GALLIC WAR.

CONSISTING OF THE ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATION
ARRANGED ON OPPOSITE PAGES.

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PREFACE.

In the preparation of this volume of the "Parallel Classics," only the first four books of Cæsar's Commentaries have been used, for the reason that they are the ones usually read in preparatory schools, and upon which candidates for admission into college are examined.

The question may be asked, "Why prepare such a book?" Certainly not for the purpose of rendering study, application, and effort unnecessary. Translations of the Latin and Greek classics abound, and are, and always have been, more or less used, and, I am sorry to add, abused. But to a faithful and conscientious student, who habitually strives by his own unaided efforts to obtain a correct translation from another language into the vernacular, such a book, if used judiciously, and for the sole purpose of comparing his own translation with one that is authoritative, is not only helpful, but calculated to inspire self-confidence.

But the chief object in the preparation of this series is twofold: partly to help those who, by their own efforts, desire to acquire a knowledge of the writings of the masters of two such languages as are without a rival, and partly to afford an opportunity to such as have studied them, and were at one time familiar with them, to refresh their memories and kindle anew the associations of the past.

In the hope of its proving a help, a stimulus, and a reviver of by-gone years, the editor sends forth this, the first volume of the "Parallel Classics."

THE EDITOR.

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A BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF CÆSAR.

"The Cæsars," says Froude, "were a branch of the Gens Julia, which claimed descent from Iulus, the son of Æneas, and thus from the gods."

It is also stated by the same writer, that "eight generations of Cæsars had held prominent positions in the Commonwealth. They had been consuls, censors, prætors, ædiles, and military tribunes; and in politics, as might be expected from their position, they had been moderate aristocrats."

"The pedigree of the Dictator" extends no farther than Caius Julius, his grandfather, who "married a lady named Marcia," by whom "he had three children, Caius Julius, Sextus Julius, and a daughter named Julia. Caius Julius married Aurelia and was the father of the great Cæsar."

Cæsar was born at Rome, July 12, B.C. 100; or, according to others, two years earlier.

He is said to have studied Greek under Antonius Gnipho, and, when a boy, to have written a poem in honor of Hercules and to have composed a tragedy on the story of Œdipus.

When only fourteen years of age, Marius made him a priest of Jupiter, and a member of the Sacred College, with a handsome income.

Though his father had arranged a marriage for him with Cossutia, a lady of fortune, upon his father's death Cæsar used his freedom to break the engagement, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna.

Sylla, aware of his ambition, endeavored to remove him; but Cæsar, understanding his intentions, avoided discovery by changing his lodgings every day, and some time after was received into Sylla's friendship.

On his way to Rhodes, to finish his studies under Apollonius Molo, he was seized by pirates, who offered him liberty for thirty talents. He gave them forty, and threatened revenge, which he afterwards carried into effect.

On the death of Metellus he obtained the office of high priest; and after having filled the inferior positions of the state, he was appointed over Spain.

Upon his return to Rome, he was made consul. Having been appointed for five years over the Gauls, he enlarged the boundaries of the Roman Empire by conquest, and invaded Britain, then unknown to the Roman people. He restrained the Germans, and soon after, through the influence of his friends at Rome, had his government over Gaul extended five years longer.

The death of Julia and Crassus, the corrupted state of the Roman Senate, and the ambition of Cæsar and Pompey soon became the causes of a civil war.

On pretence of avenging the violence which had been offered to the sacred office of tribune in the person of Antony, he crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province. The passage of the Rubicon was a declaration of war, and Cæsar entered Italy with sword in hand.

Pompey, with all the friends of liberty, then left Rome; and Cæsar, after subduing all Italy in sixty days, entered Rome.

Going to Spain, after conquering the partisans of Pompey, he was declared, on his return to Rome, dictator, and soon after consul.

Again leaving Rome, he went in quest of Pompey, whom he met and conquered on the plains of Pharsalia. Pompey then fled into Egypt, where he was murdered.

After several conquests in Africa, the defeat of Cato, Scipio, and Juba, and that of Pompey's sons in Spain, he entered Rome, and triumphed over five different nations, — Gaul, Alexandria, Pontus, Africa, and Spain, — and was created perpetual dictator.

Having now reached the climax of his glory, and his uncommon success having created enemies, and the very chief senators, among them Brutus, his most intimate friend, having conspired against him, he fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, in the Senate House, on the Ides of March, B.C. 44, in the 56th year of his age.

BOOK FIRST.

SYNOPSIS.

THE term *Commentaries*, as applied to these writings of Cæsar, corresponds with our expression of a Diary or Journal, being the narrations or daily memoranda of transpiring events.

They consist of seven books, giving a concise account of the seven campaigns which Cæsar himself waged in Gaul, each book being a journal of one year.

Book First describes the campaign of the year 58 B.C., during the consulship of Lucius Calpurnius Piso and Aulus Gabinius.

In its several chapters we have, first, a description of Gaul, the attack upon it by the Helvetians, how they are worsted by Cæsar in two battles, while the remainder betake themselves again to their native country.

The Gauls complain to Cæsar of the insolence of the Germans, who, under the leadership of Ariovistus, were occupying the territory of the Sequanians. Cæsar, for the purpose of adjusting matters, sends ambassadors to Ariovistus; but to no purpose, and, accordingly leads his army against him. Though fearful at first, and trembling, the army, after an harangue by Cæsar, is inspired with the greatest courage.

The leaders of the armies hold a consultation with each other, but with no result. Therefore the matter is settled by arms, and after a terrible slaughter the Germans flee from Gaul.

C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER I.

Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitāni, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitānis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrŏna et Sequăna dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate Provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant, atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important: proximique sunt Germānis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt: qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidianis proeliis cum Germānis contendunt, quum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodăno; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceăno, finibus Belgārum; attingit etiam ab Sequănis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septemtriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septemtriones, et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceăni, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septemtriones.

THE

COMMENTARIES OF C. JULIUS CÆSAR

ON THE

GALLIC WAR.

BOOK I.

All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgæ inhabit, the second the Aquitani, the third, they who in their own language are called Celts, in ours Gauls. All these differ from each other in language, customs and laws. The river Garonne separates the Gauls from the Aquitani; the Marne and the Seine separate them from the Belgæ. Of all these, the Belgæ are the bravest, because they are farthest from the civilization and refinement of the Province, and merchants very seldom resort to them, and import those things which tend to effeminate the mind; and they are the nearest to the Germans, who dwell beyond the Rhine, with whom they are continually waging war; for which reason the Helvetii also surpass the rest of the Gauls in valor, as they contend with the Germans in almost daily battles, when they either repel them from their own territories, or they themselves wage war on their frontiers. One part of these, which it has been said that the Gauls occupy, takes its beginning at the river Rhone; it is bounded by the river Garonne, the ocean and the territories of the Belgæ; it borders, too, on the side of the Sequăni and the Helvetii, upon the river Rhine, and stretches toward the north. The Belgæ take their beginning from the extreme frontier of Gaul, and extend to the lower part of the river Rhine; they look toward the north and the rising sun. Aquitania extends from the river Garonne to the Pyrenæan mountains and to that part of the ocean which is near Spain: it looks between the setting of the sun, and the north star.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus et ditissimus fuit Orgetŏrix. Is, Marco Messāla et Marco Pisōne Consulibus, regni cupiditate inductus, conjurationem nobilitatis fecit et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, quum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germānis dividit; altera ex parte monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequănos et Helvetios; tertia, lacu Lemanno, et flumine Rhodăno, qui Provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur, et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent: qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem millia passuum ducenta et quadraginta, in latitudinem centum et octoginta patebant.

3. His rebus adducti, et auctoritate Orgetorīgis permoti, constituerunt ea, quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare; jumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere; sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret; cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt; in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetŏrix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit: in eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantalēdis filio, Sequăno, cujus pater regnum in Sequănis multos annos obtinuerat, et a Senatu Populi Romāni amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat: itemque Dumnorīgi Aeduo, fratri Divitiăci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent: se suis copiis, suoque exercitu, illis regna conciliaturum, confirmat. Hac oratione adducti, inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, et, regno occupato, per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

2. Among the Helvetii, Orgetŏrix was by far the most distinguished and wealthy. He, when Marcus Messăla and Marcus Piso were consuls, incited by lust of sovereignty, formed a conspiracy among the nobility, and persuaded the people to go forth from their territories with all their possessions, [saying] that it would be very easy, since they excelled all in valor, to acquire the supremacy of the whole of Gaul. To this he the more easily persuaded them, because the Helvetii are confined on every side by the nature of their situation; on one side by the river Rhine, very broad and deep, which separates the Helvetian territory from the Germans; on the second side by mount Jura, very high, which is between the Sequăni and the Helvetii; on the third by Lake Geneva, and the river Rhone, which separates our Province from the Helvetii. From these circumstances it resulted, that they could range less widely, and could less easily make war upon their neighbors; for which reason men fond of war were affected with great regret. They thought, that considering the extent of their population, and their renown for warfare and bravery, they had but narrow limits, although they extended in length two hundred and forty, and in breadth one hundred and eighty miles.

3. Induced by these considerations, and influenced by the authority of Orgetŏrix, they determined to provide such things as were necessary for their expedition — to buy up as great a number as possible of beasts of burden and wagons — to make their sowings as large as possible, so that on their march plenty of corn might be in store — and to establish peace and friendship with the neighboring states. They reckoned that a term of two years would be sufficient for them to execute their designs; they fix by decree their departure for the third year. Orgetŏrix is chosen to complete these arrangements. He took upon himself the office of ambassador to the states: on this journey he persuades Castĭcus, the son of Catamantalĕdes (one of the Sequăni, whose father had possessed the sovereignty among the Sequăni for many years, and had been styled "*friend*" by the senate of the Roman people) to seize upon the sovereignty in his own state, which his father had held before him, and he likewise persuades Dumnŏrix, an Æduan, the brother of Divitiăcus, who at that time possessed the chief authority in the state, and was exceedingly beloved by the people, to attempt the same, and gives him his daughter in marriage. He proves to them that to accomplish their attempts was a thing very easy to be done, because he himself would obtain the government of his own state; that there was no doubt that the Helvetii were the most powerful of the whole of Gaul; he assures them that he will, with his own forces and his own army, acquire the sovereignty for them. Incited by this speech, they give a pledge and oath to one another, and hope that, when they have seized the sovereignty, they will, by means of the three most powerful and valiant nations, be enabled to obtain possession of the whole of Gaul.

4. Ea res ut est Helvetiis per indicium enunciata, moribus suis Orgetorīgem ex vinculis causam dicere coëgerunt: damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta causae dictionis, Orgetŏrix ad judicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coëgit, et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Quum civitas, ob eam rem incitata, armis jus suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetŏrix mortuus est: neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi jam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt; frumentum omne, praeter quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut, domum reditionis spe sublata, paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent: trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Raurăcis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti, eodem usi consilio, oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum iis proficiscantur: Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant, et in agrum Norĭcum transierant, Norēiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnīno itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequānos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Juram et flumen Rhodănum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per Provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiōrum et Allobrŏgum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodănus fluit, isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrŏgum est, proximumque Helvetiōrum finibus, Genēva. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogĭbus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in Populum Romānum viderentur, existimabant; vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis, diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodăni omnes conveniant: is dies erat ante diem quintum Kalendas Aprīles, Lucio Pisone, Aulo Gabinio Consulibus.

4. When this scheme was disclosed to the Helvetii by informers, they, according to their custom, compelled Orgetŏrix to plead his cause in chains; it was the law that the penalty of being burned by fire should await him if condemned. On the day appointed for the pleading of his cause, Orgetŏrix drew together from all quarters to the court, all his vassals to the number of ten thousand persons; and led together to the same place all his dependents and debtor-bondsmen, of whom he had a great number; by means of these he rescued himself from pleading his cause. While the state, incensed at this act, was endeavoring to assert its right by arms, and the magistrates were mustering a large body of men from the country, Orgetŏrix died; and there is not wanting a suspicion, as the Helvetii think, of his having committed suicide.

5. After his death, the Helvetii none the less, attempt to do that which they had resolved on, namely, to go forth from their territories. When they thought that they were at length prepared for this undertaking, they set fire to all their towns, in number about twelve — to their villages about four hundred — and to the private dwellings that remained; they burn up all the corn, except what they intend to carry with them; that after destroying the hope of a return home, they might be the more ready for undergoing all dangers. They order every one to carry forth from home for himself provisions for three months, ready ground. They persuade the Raurāci, and the Tulingi, and the Latobrĭgi, their neighbors, to adopt the same plan, and after burning down their towns and villages, to set out with them: and they admit to their party and unite to themselves as confederates the Boii, who had dwelt on the other side of the Rhine, and had crossed over into the Norican territory, and assaulted Noreia.

6. There were in all two routes, by which routes they could go forth from their country — one through the Sequăni, narrow and difficult, between Mount Jura and the river Rhone (by which scarcely one wagon at a time could be led; there was, moreover, a very high mountain overhanging, so that a very few might easily intercept them); the other, through our Province, much easier and freer from obstacles, because the Rhone flows between the boundaries of the Helvetii and those of the Allobroges, who had lately been subdued, and is in some places crossed by a ford. The farthest town of the Allobroges, and the nearest to the territories of the Helvetii, is Geneva. From this town a bridge extends to the Helvetii. They thought that they should either persuade the Allobroges, because they did not seem as yet well-affected toward the Roman people, or compel them by force to allow them to pass through their territories. Having provided every thing for the expedition, they appoint a day, on which they should all meet on the bank of the Rhone. This day was the fifth before the Kalends of April, in the consulship of Lucius Piso and Aulus Gabinius.

7. Caesări quum id nuntiatum esset, eos per Provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci, et, quam maximis potest itineribus, in Galliam ulteriorem contendit, et ad Genēvam pervenit. Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat (erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una); pontem, qui erat ad Genēvam, jubet rescindi. Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt, nobilissimos civitatis; cujus legationis Namēius et Verudoctius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, Sibi esse in animo, sine ullo maleficio iter per Provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat Lucium Cassium consulem occisum, exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat: neque homines inimico animo, data facultate per Provinciam itineris faciendi, temperaturos ab injuria et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites, quos imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit, Diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum; si quid vellent, ante diem Idus Aprīles reverterentur.

8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, miltibusque, qui ex Provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodănum influit, ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanōrum ab Helvetiis dividit, millia passuum decem murum, in altitudinem pedum sedecim, fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto, praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat, Se more et exemplo Populi Romāni posse iter ulli per Provinciam dare; et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum ostendit. Helvetii, ea spe dejecti, navibus junctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodăni, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnunquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent, conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi, hoc conatu destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequănos via, qua, Sequănis invitis, propter angustias ire non poterant. His quum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorīgem Aeduum mittunt, ut, eo deprecatore, a Sequănis impetrarent.

7. When it was reported to Cæsar that they were attempting to make their route through our Province, he hastens to set out from the city, and, by as great marches as he can, proceeds to Further Gaul, and arrives at Geneva. He orders the whole Province [to furnish] (as great a number of soldiers as possible, as there was in all only one legion in Further Gaul): he orders the bridge at Geneva to be broken down. When the Helvetii are apprized of his arrival, they send to him, as ambassadors, the most illustrious men of their state (in which embassy Nammius and Verudoctius held the chief place), to say "that it was their intention to march through the Province without doing any harm, because they had no other route: — to ask that they might be allowed to do so with his consent." Cæsar, inasmuch as he kept in remembrance that Lucius Cassius, the consul, had been slain, and his army routed and made to pass under the yoke by the Helvetii, did not think that [their request] ought to be granted: nor was he of opinion that men of hostile disposition, if an opportunity of marching through the Province were given them, would abstain from outrage and mischief. Yet, in order that a period might intervene, until the soldiers whom he had ordered should assemble, he replied to the ambassadors, that he would take time to deliberate; if they wanted any thing, they might return on the day before the Ides of April.

8. Meanwhile, with the legion which he had with him and the soldiers which had assembled from the Province, he carries along for nineteen miles a wall, to the height of sixteen feet, and a trench, from the Lake of Geneva, which flows into the river Rhone, to Mount Jura, which separates the territories of the Sequăni from those of the Helvetii. When that work was finished, he distributes garrisons, and closely fortifies redoubts, in order that he may the more easily intercept them, if they should attempt to cross over against his will. When the day which he had appointed with the ambassadors came, and they returned to him; he says, that he can not, consistently with the custom and precedent of the Roman people, grant any one a passage through the Province; and he gives them to understand, that, if they should attempt to use violence he would oppose them. The Helvetii, disappointed in this hope, tried if they could force a passage; some by means of a bridge of boats and numerous rafts constructed for the purpose; others, by the fords of the Rhone, where the depth of the river was least, sometimes by day, but more frequently by night; but being kept at bay by the strength of our works, and by the concourse of the soldiers, and by the missiles, they desisted from this attempt.

9. There was left one way, through the Sequăni, by which, on account of its narrowness, they could not pass without the consent of the Sequăni. As they could not of themselves prevail on them, they send ambassadors to Dumnŏrix the Æduan, that through his intercession, they might obtain their request from the Sequăni.

Dumnŏrix gratia et largitione apud Sequănos plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorĭgis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et, cupiditate regni adductus, novis rebus studebat, et quam plurimas civitates suo sibi beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequănis impetrat, ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent, perficit: Sequăni, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Caesări renuntiatur, Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanōrum et Aeduōrum iter in Santŏnum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in Provincia. Id si fieret, intelligebat magno cum Provinciae periculo futurum, ut homines bellicosos, Populi Romāni inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei munitioni, quam fecerat, Titum Labiēnum legatum praefecit: ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribit, et tres, quae circum Aquilēiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit, et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrōnes et Graiocĕli et Caturīges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis, ab Ocĕlo, quod est citerioris Provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiōrum ulterioris Provinciae die septimo pervenit: inde in Allobrōgum fines, ab Allobrogĭbus in Segusiānos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra Provinciam trans Rhodănum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanōrum suas copias traduxerant, et in Aeduōrum fines pervenerant, eorumque agros populabantur. Aedui, quum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesărem mittunt rogatum auxilium: Ita se omni tempore de Populo Romāno meritos esse, ut, paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore quo Aedui, Ambarri quoquo, necessarii et consanguinei Aeduōrum, Caesărem certiorem faciunt, sese, depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere: item Allobrōges, qui trans Rhodănum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesărem recipiunt, et demonstrant, sibi, praeter agri solum, nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus, Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit,

Dumnŏrix, by his popularity and liberality, had great influence among the Sequăni, and was friendly to the Helvetii, because out of that state he had married the daughter of Orgetŏrix; and, incited by lust of sovereignty, was anxious for a revolution, and wished to have as many states as possible attached to him by his kindness toward them. He, therefore, undertakes the affair, and prevails upon the Sequăni to allow the Helvetii to march through their territories, and arranges that they should give hostages to each other — the Sequăni, not to obstruct the Helvetii in their march — the Helvetii, to pass without mischief and outrage.

10. It is again told Cæsar, that the Helvetii intended to march through the country of the Sequăni and the Ædui into the territories of the Santŏnes, which are not far distant from those boundaries of the Tolōsātes, which state is in the Province. If this took place, he saw that it would be attended with great danger to the Province to have warlike men, enemies of the Roman people, bordering upon an open and very fertile tract of country. For these reasons he appointed Titus Labienus, his lieutenant, to the command of the fortification which he had made. He himself proceeds to Italy by forced marches, and there levies two legions, and leads out from winter-quarters three which were wintering around Aquileia, and with these five legions marches rapidly by the nearest route across the Alps into Further Gaul. Here the Centrŏnes and the Graiocĕli and the Caturĭges, having taken possession of the higher parts, attempt to obstruct the army in their march. After having routed these in several battles, he arrives in the territories of the Vocontii in the Further Province on the seventh day from Ocĕlum, which is the most remote town of the Hither Province; thence he leads his army into the country of the Allobroges, and from the Allobroges to the Segusiani. These people are the first beyond the Province on the opposite side of the Rhone.

11. The Helvetii had by this time led their forces over through the narrow defile and the territories of the Sequăni, and had arrived at the territories of the Ædui, and were ravaging their lands. The Ædui, as they could not defend themselves and their possessions against them, send ambassadors to Cæsar to ask assistance, [pleading] that they had at all times so well deserved of the Roman people, that their fields ought not to have been laid waste — their children carried off into slavery — their towns stormed, almost within sight of our army. At the same time the Ambarri, the friends and kinsmen of the Ædui, apprise Cæsar, that it was not easy for them, now that their fields had been devastated, to ward off the violence of the enemy from their towns: the Allobroges likewise, who had villages and possessions on the other side of the Rhone, betake themselves in flight to Cæsar, and assure him that they had nothing remaining, except the soil of their land. Cæsar, induced by these circumstances, decides that he ought not to wait

dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis, in Santŏnos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduōrum et Sequanōrum in Rhodănum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est, tres jam copiarum partes Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Arărim reliquam esse; de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus, ad eam partem pervenit, quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes aggressus, magnam eorum partem concidit: reliqui fugae sese mandarunt, atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurīnus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quatuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, quam domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria Lucium Cassium consulem interfecerat, et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat. Ita, sive casu, sive consilio Deorum immortalium quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem Populo Romāno intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est, quod ejus soceri Lucii Pisonis avum, Lucium Pisonem legatum, Tigurīni eodem proelio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

13. Hoc proelio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiōrum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arări faciendum curat, atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvetii, repentino ejus adventu commoti, quum id, quod ipsi diebus viginti aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, uno illum die fecisse intelligerent, legatos ad eum mittunt: cujus legationis Divĭco princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiāno dux Helvetiōrum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesăre agit: Si pacem Populus Romānus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ĭturos atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset: sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi Populi Romāni et pristinae virtutis Helvetiōrum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, quum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret, aut ipsos despiceret: se ita a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute, quam dolo contenderent, aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate Populi Romāni et internecione exercitus nomen caperet, aut memoriam proderet,

until the Helvetii, after destroying all the property of his allies, should arrive among the Santŏnes.

12. There is a river Arar, which flows through the territories of the Ædui and Sequăni into the Rhone with such incredible smoothness that it can not be determined by the eye in which direction it flows. This the Helvetii were crossing by rafts and boats joined together. When Cæsar was informed by spies that the Helvetii had already conveyed three parts of their forces across that river, but that the fourth part was left behind on this side of the Arar, he set out from the camp with three legions during the third watch, and came up with that division which had not yet crossed the river. Attacking them, encumbered with baggage, and not expecting him, he cut to pieces a great part of them; the rest betook themselves to flight, and concealed themselves in the nearest woods. That canton was called the Tigurine; for the whole Helvetian state is divided into four cantons. This single canton having left their country, within the recollection of our fathers, had slain Lucius Cassius the consul, and had made his army pass under the yoke. Thus, whether by chance, or by the design of the immortal gods, that part of the Helvetian state which had brought a signal calamity upon the Roman people was the first to pay the penalty. In this Cæsar avenged not only the public but also his own personal wrongs, because the Tigurini had slain Lucius Piso lieutenant, the grandfather of Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, in the same battle as Cassius himself.

13. This battle ended, that he might be able to come up with the remaining forces of the Helvetii, he procures a bridge to be made across the Arar, and thus leads his army over. The Helvetii, confused by his sudden arrival, when they found that he had effected in one day, what they themselves had with the utmost difficulty accomplished in twenty, namely, the crossing of the river, send ambassadors to him; at the head of which embassy was Divĭco, who had been commander of the Helvetii, in the war against Cassius. He thus treats with Cæsar: — "if the Roman people would make peace with the Helvetii, they would go to that part and there remain, where Cæsar might appoint and desire them to be; but if he should persist in persecuting them with war, he should remember both the ancient disgrace of the Roman people and the characteristic valor of the Helvetii. As to his having attacked one canton by surprise, when those who had crossed the river could not bring assistance to their friends, he ought not on that account to ascribe very much to his own valor, or despise them; they had so learned from their sires and ancestors, that they should rely more on valor than on artifice and stratagem. Wherefore let him not bring it to pass that the place, where they were standing, should acquire a name, from the disaster of the Roman people and the destruction of their army or transmit the remembrance of such an event to posterity.

14. His Caesar ita respondit: Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret; atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito Populi Romāni accidisset: qui si alicujus injuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intelligeret, quare timeret; neque sine causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod eo invito, iter per Provinciam per vim tentassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrŏgas vexassent, memoriam deponere posset? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune tulisse injurias admirarentur, eodem pertinere: consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Quum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea, quae polliceantur, facturos intelligat; et si Aeduis de injuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint; item si Allobrogĭbus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum. Divĭco respondit: Ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint: ejus rei Populum Romānum esse testem.

15. Hoc responso dato, discessit. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent: idem facit Caesar; equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quatuor millium, quem ex omni Provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti, alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiōrum proelium committunt: et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere, nonnunquam ex novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat, ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus, populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen, et nostrum primum, non amplius quinis aut senis millibus passuum interesset.

16. Interim quotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare: nam propter frigora, quod Gallia sub

14. To these words Cæsar thus replied: — that "on that very account he felt less hesitation, because he kept in remembrance those circumstances which the Helvetian ambassadors had mentioned, and that he felt the more indignant at them, in proportion as they had happened undeservedly to the Roman people: for if they had been conscious of having done any wrong, it would not have been difficult to be on their guard, but for that very reason had they been deceived, because neither were they aware that any offense had been given by them, on account of which they should be afraid, nor did they think that they ought to be afraid without cause. But even if he were willing to forget their former outrage, could he also lay aside the remembrance of the late wrongs, in that they had against his will attempted a route through the Province by force, in that they had molested the Ædui, the Ambarri, and the Allobroges? That as to their so insolently boasting of their victory, and as to their being astonished that they had so long committed their outrages with impunity, tended to the same point; for the immortal gods are wont to allow those persons whom they wish to punish for their guilt sometimes a greater prosperity and longer impunity, in order that they may suffer the more severely from a reverse of circumstances. Since these things are so, yet, if hostages were given him by them in order that he may be assured they will do what they promise, and provided they will give satisfaction to the Ædui for the outrages which they had committed against them and their allies, and likewise to the Allobroges, he will make peace with them." Divĭco replied, that "the Helvetii had been so trained by their ancestors, that they were accustomed to receive, not to give hostages; of that fact the Roman people were witness." Having given this reply, he withdrew.

15. On the following day they move their camp from that place; Cæsar does the same, and sends forward all his cavalry, to the number of four thousand, which he had drawn together from all parts of the Province and from the Ædui and their allies, to observe toward what parts the enemy are directing their march. These, having too eagerly pursued the enemy's rear, come to a battle with the cavalry of the Helvetii in a disadvantageous place, and a few of our men fall. The Helvetii, elated with this battle, because they had with five hundred horse repulsed so large a body of cavalry, began to face us more boldly, sometimes too from their rear to provoke our men by an attack. Cæsar restrained his men from battle, deeming it sufficient for the present to prevent the enemy from rapine, forage, and depredation. They marched for about fifteen days in such a manner that there were not more than five or six miles between the enemy's rear and our van.

16. Meanwhile, Cæsar kept daily importuning the Ædui for the corn which they had promised in the name of their state; for, in consequence of the coldness, Gaul, being, as before said, situated

septemtrionibus, ut ante dictum, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat: eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arări navibus subvexerat, propterea minus uti poterat, quod iter ab Arări Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Aedui; conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit, et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiăco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, (quem Vergobrĕtum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem,) graviter eos accusat, quod, quum neque emi, neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur; praesertim quum, magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus, bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius, quod sit destitutus, queritur.

17. Tum demum Liscus, oratione Caesăris adductus, quod antea tacuerat, proponit: Esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat; qui privati plus possint, quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant, quod praestare debeant. Si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallōrum quam Romanōrum, imperia perferre satius esse; neque dubitare debere, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romāni, una cum reliqua Gallia Aeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab iisdem nostra consilia, quaeque in castris gerantur, hostibus enunciari: hos a se coërceri non posse: quin etiam, quod necessario rem Caesări enunciarit, intelligere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.

18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorĭgem, Divitiăci fratrem, designari sentiebat: sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res jactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet: quaerit ex solo ea, quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: Ipsum esse Dumnorĭgem summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidumque rerum novarum: complures annos portoria, reliquaque omnia Aeduōrum vectigalia, parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod, illo licente, contra liceri audeat

toward the north, not only was the corn in the fields not ripe, but there was not in store a sufficiently large quantity even of fodder: besides he was unable to use the corn which he had conveyed in ships up the river Arar, because the Helvetii, from whom he was unwilling to retire had diverted their march from the Arar. The Æ̆dui kept deferring from day to day, and saying that it was being "collected — brought in — on the road." When he saw that he was put off too long, and that the day was close at hand on which he ought to serve out the corn to his soldiers; — having called together their chiefs, of whom he had a great number in his camp, among them Divitiăcus, and Liscus who was invested with the chief magistracy (whom the Æ̆dui style the Vergobretus, and who is elected annually, and has power of life and death over his countrymen), he severely reprimands them, because he is not assisted by them on so urgent an occasion, when the enemy were so close at hand, and when [corn] could neither be bought nor taken from the fields, particularly as, in a great measure urged by their prayers, he had undertaken the war; much more bitterly, therefore, does he complain of his being forsaken.

17. Then at length Liscus, moved by Cæsar's speech, discloses what he had hitherto kept secret: — that "there are some whose influence with the people is very great, who, though private men, have more power than the magistrates themselves: that these by seditious and violent language are deterring the populace from contributing the corn which they ought to supply; that, if they cannot any longer retain the supremacy of Gaul, it were better to submit to the government of Gauls than of Romans, nor ought they to doubt that, if the Romans should overpower the Helvetii, they would wrest their freedom from the Æ̆dui together with the remainder of Gaul. By these very men, are our plans, and whatever is done in the camp, disclosed to the enemy; that they could not be restrained by him: nay more, that though of necessity, he had disclosed the matter to Cæsar, he was well aware at how great a risk he had done it; and for that reason, he had been silent as long as he could."

18. Cæsar perceived that, by this speech of Liscus, Dumnŏrix, the brother of Divitiăcus, was indicated; but, as he was unwilling that these matters should be discussed while so many were present, he speedily dismisses the council, but detains Liscus: he inquires from him when alone, about those things which he had said in the meeting. He speaks more unreservedly and boldly. He makes inquiries on the same points privately of others, and discovers that it is all true; that "it was Dumnŏrix himself, a man of the highest daring, in great favor with the people on account of his liberality, a man eager for a revolution: that for a great many years he has been in the habit of contracting for the customs and all the other taxes of the Æ̆dui at a small cost, because when he bids, no one

nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse, et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse: magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere: neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse: atque hujus potentiae causa matrem in Biturigĭbus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse: ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere: sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse: favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem: odisse etiam suo nomine Caesărem et Romānos, quod eorum adventu potentia ejus deminuta, et Divitiăcus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romānis, summam in spem regni per Helvetios obtinendi venire; imperio Populi Romāni non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugae factum a Dumnorĭge atque ejus equitibus, (nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesări Aedui miserant, Dumnŏrix praeerat,) eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, quum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanōrum Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia, non modo injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur; satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Divitiăci fratris summum in Populum Romānum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam, ne ejus supplicio Divitiăci animum offenderet, verebatur. Itaque, priusquam quidquam conaretur, Divitiăcum ad se vocari jubet; et, quotidianis interpretibus remotis, per Cāium Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summan omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul commonefacit, quae, ipso praesente, in concilio Gallōrum de Dumnorĭge sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit: petit atque hortatur, ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo, causa cognita, statuat, vel civitatem statuere jubeat.

dares to bid against him. By these means he has both increased his own private property, and amassed great means for giving largesses; that he maintains constantly at his own expense and keeps about his own person a great number of cavalry, and that not only at home, but even among the neighboring states, he has great influence, and for the sake of strengthening this influence has given his mother in marriage among the Bituriges to a man the most noble and most influential there; that he has himself taken a wife from among the Helvetii, and has given his sister by the mother's side and his female relations in marriage into other states; that he favors and wishes well to the Helvetii on account of this connection; and that he hates Cæsar and the Romans, on his own account, because by their arrival his power was weakened, and his brother, Divitiăcus, restored to his former position of influence and dignity: that, if any thing should happen to the Romans, he entertains the highest hope of gaining the sovereignty by means of the Helvetii, but that under the government of the Roman people he despairs not only of the royalty, but even of that influence which he already has." Cæsar discovered too, on inquiring into the unsuccessful cavalry engagement which had taken place a few days before, that the commencement of that flight had been made by Dumnŏrix and his cavalry (for Dumnŏrix was in command of the cavalry which the Ædui had sent for aid to Cæsar); that by their flight the rest of the cavalry were dismayed.

19. After learning these circumstances, since to these suspicions the most unequivocal facts were added, viz., that he had led the Helvetii through the territories of the Sequăni; that he had provided that hostages should be mutually given; that he had done all these things, not only without any orders of his and of his own state's, but even without their knowing any thing of it themselves; that he was reprimanded by the magistrate of the Ædui; he considered that there was sufficient reason, why he should either punish him himself, or order the state to do so. One thing stood in the way of all this — that he had learned by experience his brother Divitiăcus's very high regard for the Roman people, his great affection toward him, his distinguished faithfulness, justice, and moderation; for he was afraid least by the punishment of this man, he should hurt the feelings of Divitiăcus. Therefore, before he attempted any thing, he orders Divitiăcus to be summoned to him, and when the ordinary interpreters had been withdrawn, converses with him through Caius Valerius Procillus, chief of the province of Gaul, an intimate friend of his, in whom he reposed the highest confidence in every thing; at the same time he reminds him of what was said about Dumnŏrix in the council of the Gauls, when he himself was present, and shows what each had said of him privately in his own presence; he begs and exhorts him, that, without offense to his feelings, he may either himself pass judgment on him after trying the case, or else order the state to do so.

20. Divitiăcus multis cum lachrymis Caesărem complexus obsecrare coepit, Ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: scire se illa esse vera; nec quenquam ex eo plus, quam se, doloris capere, propterea quod, quum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset: quibus opibus ac nervis, non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur: sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesăre gravius accidisset, quum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum, non sua voluntate factum: qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec quum pluribus verbis flens a Caesăre peteret, Caesar ejus dextram prendit: consolatus rogat, finem orandi faciat: tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et Reipublicae injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorĭgem ad se vocat; fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quae ipse intelligat, quae civitas queratur, proponit: monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiăco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorĭgi custodes ponit, ut, quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus, hostes sub monte consedisse millia passuum ab ipsius castris octo; qualis esset natura montis, et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renunciatum est, facilem esse. De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit, equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. Publius Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu Lucii Sullae, et postea in Marci Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce, quum summus mons a Tito Labieno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus, aut Labiēni, cognitus esset: Considius, equo admisso, ad eum accurrit; dicit montem, quem a Labiēno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri; id se ex Gallĭcis armis atque insignibus cogno-

20. Divitiăcus, embracing Cæsar, begins to implore him, with many tears, that "he would not pass any very severe sentence upon his brother; saying, that he knows that those charges are true, and that nobody suffered more pain on that account than he himself did; for when he himself could effect a very great deal by his influence at home and in the rest of Gaul, and he very little on account of his youth, the latter had become powerful through his means, which power and strength he used not only to the lessening of his popularity, but almost to his ruin; that he, however, was influenced both by fraternal affection and by public opinion. But if any thing very severe from Cæsar should befall him, no one would think that it had been done without his consent, since he himself held such a place in Cæsar's friendship: from which circumstance it would arise, that the affections of the whole of Gaul would be estranged from him." As he was with tears begging these things of Cæsar in many words, Cæsar takes his right hand, and comforting him, begs him to make an end of entreating, and assures him that his regard for him is so great, that he forgives both the injuries of the republic and his private wrongs, at his desire and prayers. He summons Dumnŏrix to him; he brings in his brother; he points out what he censures in him; he lays before him what he of himself perceives, and what the state complains of; he warns him for the future to avoid all grounds of suspicion; he says that he pardons the past, for the sake of his brother Divitiăcus. He sets spies over Dumnŏrix that he may be able to know what he does, and with whom he communicates.

21. Being on the same day informed by his scouts, that the enemy had encamped at the foot of a mountain eight miles from his own camp; he sent persons to ascertain what the nature of the mountain was, and of what kind the ascent on every side. Word was brought back, that it was easy. During the third watch he orders Titus Labienus, his lieutenant with prætorian powers, to ascend to the highest ridge of the mountain with two legions, and with those as guides who had examined the road; he explains what his plan is. He himself during the fourth watch, hastens to them by the same route by which the enemy had gone, and sends on all the cavalry before him. Publius Considius, who was reputed to be very experienced in military affairs, and had been in the army of Lucius Sulla, and afterward in that of Marcus Crassus, is sent forward with the scouts.

22. At day-break, when the summit of the mountain was in the possession of Titus Labienus, and he himself was not further off than a mile and half from the enemy's camp, nor, as he afterward ascertained from the captives, had either his arrival or that of Labienus been discovered; Considius, with his horse at full gallop, comes up to him — says that the mountain which he wished should be seized by Labienus, is in possession of the enemy; that he knew

visse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labiēnus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesāre, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat, proelioque abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit, et montem a suis teneri, et Helvetios castra movisse, et Considium, timore perterritum, quod non vidisset, pro viso sibi renunciasse. Eo die, quo consuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur, et millia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie ejus diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, quum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Aeduōrum longe maximo ac copiosissimo, non amplius millibus passuum octodecim aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetiis avertit, ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos Lucii Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallōrum, hostibus nunciatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romānos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie, superioribus locis occupatis, proelium non commovissent; sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent; commutato consilio atque itinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

24. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit, equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranarum, ita, uti supra se in summo jugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia collocaret: ac totum montem hominibus compleri, et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri, et eum ab his, qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri jussit. Helvetii, cum omnibus suis carris secuti, impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt: ipsi, confertissima acie rejecto nostro equitatu, phalange facta, sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar, primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut, aequato omnium periculo, spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos, proelium commisit. Milites, e loco superiore pilis missis, facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disjecta, gladiis destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat

this by the Gallic arms and ensigns. Cæsar leads off his forces to the next hill: and draws them up in battle-order. Labienus, as he had been ordered by Cæsar not to come to an engagement unless his own forces were seen near the enemy's camp, that the attack upon the enemy might be made on every side at the same time, was, after having taken possession of the mountain, waiting for our men, and refraining from battle. When, at length, the day was far advanced, Cæsar learned through spies, that the mountain was in possession of his own men, and that the Helvetii had moved their camp, and that Considius, struck with fear, had reported to him, as seen, that which he had not seen. On that day he follows the enemy at his usual distance, and pitches his camp three miles from theirs.

23. The next day, as there remained in all only two days' space when he must serve out the corn to his army, and as he was not more than eighteen miles from Bibracte, by far the largest and best-stored town of the Ædui, he thought that he ought to provide for a supply of corn; he turns his march from the Helvetii, and hastens to go to Bibracte. This circumstance is reported to the enemy by some deserters from Lucius Æmilius, a captain of the Gallic horse. The Helvetii, either because they thought that the Romans, struck with terror, were retreating from them, the more so, as the day before, though they had seized on the higher grounds, they had not joined battle; or because they flattered themselves that they might be cut off from the provisions, altering their plan and changing their route, began to pursue, and to annoy our men in the rear.

24. Cæsar, when he observes this, draws off his forces to the next hill, and sent the cavalry to sustain the attack of the enemy. He himself, meanwhile, drew up on the middle of the hill a triple line of his four veteran legions in such a manner, that he placed above him on the very summit the two legions, which he had lately levied in Hither Gaul, and all the auxiliaries; and he ordered that the whole mountain should be covered with men, and that meanwhile the baggage should be brought together into one place, and the position be protected by those who were posted in the upper line. The Helvetii having followed with all their wagons, collected their baggage into one place: they themselves, after having repulsed our cavalry and formed a phalanx, advanced up to our front line in very close order.

25. Cæsar, having removed out of sight first his own horse, then those of all, that he might make the danger of all equal, and do away with the hope of flight, after encouraging his men, joined battle. His soldiers hurling their javelins from the higher ground, easily broke the enemy's phalanx. That being dispersed, they made a charge on them with drawn swords. It was a great hinderance to the Gauls in fighting, that, when several of their buck-

impedimento, quod, pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, quum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere, neque, sinistra impedita, satis commode pugnare poterant; multi ut, diu jactato brachio, praeoptarent scutum manu emittere, et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem, vulneribus defessi, et pedem referre, et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum millibus circiter quindecim agmen hostium claudebant, et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto aggressi, circumvenire: et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romāni conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima ac secunda acies, ut victis ac submotis resisteret; tertia, ut venientes exciperet.

26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius quum nostrorum impetus sustinere non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt; alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, quum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant, et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela conjiciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant, nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu quum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorīgis filia, atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter millia hominum centum et triginta superfuerunt, eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso, in fines Lingŏnum die quarto pervenerunt, quum et propter vulnera militum, et propter sepulturam occisorum, nostri, triduum morati, eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingŏnas literas nunciosque misit, ne eos frumento, neve alia re juvarent: qui si juvissent, se eodem loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum. Ipse, triduo intermisso, cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

27. Helvetii, omnium rerum inopia adducti, legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui quum eum in itinere convenissent, seque ad pedes projecissent, suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum

lers had been by one stroke of the javelins pierced through and pinned fast together, as the point of the iron had bent itself, they could neither pluck it out, nor, with their left hand entangled, fight with sufficient ease; so that many, after having long tossed their arm about, chose rather to cast away the buckler from their hand, and to fight with their person unprotected. At length, worn out with wounds, they began to give way, and, as there was in the neighborhood a mountain about a mile off, to betake themselves thither. When the mountain had been gained, and our men were advancing up, the Boii and Tulingi, who with about fifteen thousand men closed the enemy's line of march and served as a guard to their rear, having assailed our men on the exposed flank as they advanced began to surround them; upon seeing which, the Helvetii who had betaken themselves to the mountain, began to press on again and renew the battle. The Romans having faced about, advanced to the attack in two divisions; the first and second line, to withstand those who had been defeated and driven off the field; the third to receive those who were just arriving.

26. Thus, was the contest long and vigorously carried on with doubtful success. When they could no longer withstand the attacks of our men, the one division, as they had begun to do, betook themselves to the mountain; the other repaired to their baggage and wagons. For during the whole of this battle, although the fight lasted from the seventh hour to eventide, no one could see an enemy with his back turned. The fight was carried on also at the baggage till late in the night, for they had set wagons in the way as a rampart, and from the higher ground kept throwing weapons upon our men, as they came on, and some from between the wagons and the wheels kept darting their lances and javelins from beneath, and wounding our men. After the fight had lasted some time, our men gained possession of their baggage and camp. There the daughter and one of the sons of Orgetŏrix was taken. After the battle about one hundred and thirty thousand men remained alive, who marched incessantly during the whole of that night; and after a march discontinued for no part of the night, arrived in the territories of the Lingŏnes on the fourth day, while our men, having stopped for three days, both on account of the wounds of the soldiers and the burial of the slain, had not been able to follow them. Cæsar sent letters and messengers to the Lingŏnes that they should not assist them with corn or with any thing else; if they should assist them, he would regard them in the same light as the Helvetii. After the three days' interval he began to follow them himself with all his forces.

27. The Helvetii, compelled by the want of every thing, sent ambassadors to him about a surrender. When these had met him on the way and had thrown themselves at his feet, and speaking in suppliant tone had with tears sued for peace, and he had ordered

exspectare jussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum millia sex ejus pagi, qui Verbigēnus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne, armis traditis, supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod, in tanta multitudine dedititiorum, suam fugam aut occultari, aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte ex castris Helvetiōrum egressi, ad Rhenum finesque Germanōrum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant, his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit: reliquos omnes, obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis, in deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti jussit; et quod, omnibus fructibus amissis, domi nihil erat, quo famen tolerarent, Allobrogĭbus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere jussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecĭt, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare; ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germāni, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiōrum fines transirent, et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios, petentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt, quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiōrum tabulae repertae sunt literis Graecis confectae et ad Caesărem perlatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent: et item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat, capitum Helvetiōrum millia ducenta et sexaginta tria, Tulingōrum millia triginta sex, Latobrigōrum quatuordecim, Rauracōrum viginti tria, Boiōrum triginta duo: ex his, qui arma ferre possent, ad millia nonaginta duo.

them to await his arrival, in the place, where they then were, they obeyed his commands. When Cæsar arrived at that place, he demanded hostages, their arms, and the slaves who had deserted to them. While those things are being sought for and got together, after a night's interval, about six thousand men of that canton which is called the Verbigene, whether terrified by fear, lest, after delivering up their arms, they should suffer punishment, or else induced by the hope of safety, because they supposed that, amid so vast a multitude of those who had surrendered themselves, their flight might either be concealed or entirely overlooked, having at night-fall departed out of the camp of the Helvetii, hastened to the Rhine and the territories of the Germans.

28. When Cæsar discovered this, he commanded those through whose territory they had gone, to seek them out and to bring them back again, if they meant to be acquitted before him; and considered them, when brought back, in the light of enemies; he admitted all the rest to a surrender, upon their delivering up the hostages, arms, and deserters. He ordered the Helvetii, the Tulingi, and the Latobrĭgi, to return to their territories from which they had come, and as there was at home nothing whereby they might support their hunger, all the productions of the earth having been destroyed, he commanded the Allobrŏges to let them have a plentiful supply of corn; and ordered them to rebuild the towns and villages which they had burned. This he did, chiefly, on this account, because he was unwilling that the country, from which the Helvetii had departed, should be untenanted, lest the Germans, who dwell on the other side of the Rhine, should, on account of the excellence of the lands, cross over from their own territories into those of the Helvetii, and become borderers upon the province of Gaul and the Allobrŏges. He granted the petition of the Ædui, that they might settle the Boii, in their own territories, as these were known to be of distinguished valor, to whom they gave lands, and whom they afterward admitted to the same state of rights and freedom as themselves.

29. In the camp of the Helvetii, lists were found, drawn up in Greek characters, and were brought to Cæsar, in which an estimate had been drawn up, name by name, of the number which had gone forth from their country of those who were able to bear arms; and likewise the boys, the old men, and the women, separately. Of all which items the total was:

Of heads of the	Helvetii	. . . . .	263,000
"	"	Tulingi	36,000
"	"	Latobrĭgi	14,000
"	"	Raurāci	23,000
"	"	Boii	32,000

Summa omnium fuerunt ad millia trecenta et sexaginta octo. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus millium centum et decem.

30. Bello Helvetiōrum confecto, totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesărem gratulatum convenerunt: Intelligere sese, tametsi, pro veteribus Helvetiōrum injuriis Populi Romāni, ab iis poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam Populi Romāni accidisse: propterea quod eo consilio, florentissimis rebus, domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, Uti sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere, idque Caesăris voluntate facere, liceret: sese habere, quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa, diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando, ne quis enunciaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset inter se sanxerunt.

31. Eo concilio dimisso, iidem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant ad Caesărem, reverterunt, petieruntque, uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Ea re impetrata, sese omnes flentes Caesări ad pedes projecerunt: Non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea, quae dixissent, enunciarentur, quam uti ea, quae vellent, impetrarent. propterea quod, si enunciatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Divitiăcus Aeduus: Galliae totius factiōnes esse duas: harum alterius principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi quum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernis Sequănisque Germāni mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter millia quindecim Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallōrum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et viginti millium numerum: cum his Aeduos, eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque

Out of these, such as could bear arms, amounted to about 92,000. The sum of all amounted to 368,000. When the census of those who returned home was taken, as Cæsar had commanded, the number was found to be one hundred and ten thousand.

30. When the war with the Helvetii was concluded, ambassadors from almost all parts of Gaul, the chiefs of states, assembled to congratulate Cæsar, [saying] that they were well aware, that, although he had taken vengeance on the Helvetii in war, for the old wrongs done by them to the Roman people, yet that circumstance had happened no less to the benefit of the land of Gaul than of the Roman people, because the Helvetii, while their affairs were most flourishing, had quitted their country with the design of making war upon the whole of Gaul, and seizing the government of it, and selecting, out of a great abundance, that spot for an abode, which they should judge to be the most convenient and most productive of all Gaul, and hold the rest of the states as tributaries. They requested that they might be allowed to proclaim an assembly of the whole of Gaul for a particular day, and to do that with Cæsar's permission, [stating] that they had some things which, with the general consent, they wished to ask of him. This request having been granted, they appointed a day for the assembly, and ordained by an oath with each other, that no one should disclose [their deliberations] except those to whom this [office] should be assigned by the general assembly.

31. When that assembly was dismissed, the same chiefs of states, who had before been to Cæsar, returned, and asked that they might be allowed to treat with him privately (in secret) concerning the safety of themselves and of all. That request having been obtained, they all threw themselves in tears at Cæsar's feet, [saying] that they no less begged and earnestly desired that what they might say should not be disclosed, than that they might obtain those things which they wished; inasmuch as they saw, that, if a disclosure was made, they should be put to the greatest tortures. For these Divitiăcus the Æduan spoke: — "That there were two parties in the whole of Gaul: that the Ædui stood at the head of one of these, the Arverni of the other. After these had been violently struggling with one another for the superiority for many years, it came to pass that the Germans were called in for hire by the Arverni and the Sequăni. That about fifteen thousand of them had at first crossed the Rhine: but after that these wild and savage men had become enamored of the lands and the refinement and the abundance of the Gauls, more were brought over, that there were now as many as one hundred and twenty thousand of them in Gaul: that with these the Ædui and their dependents had repeatedly struggled in arms — that they had been routed, and had sustained a great calamity — had lost all their nobility, all their senate, all their cavalry. And that broken by such engagements

fractos, qui et sua virtute et Populi Romāni hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequănis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis, et jurejurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros, neque auxilium a Populo Romāno imploraturos, neque recusaturos, quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum, qui adduci non potuerit, ut juraret, aut suos liberos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse, et Romam ad senatum venisse, auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed pejus victoribus Sequănis, quam Aeduis victis, accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanōrum, in eorum finibus consedisset, tertiamque partem agri Sequāni, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequănos decedere juberet; propterea quod, paucis mensibus ante, Harūdum millia hominum viginti quatuor ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germāni Rhenum transirent: neque enim conferendum esse Gallĭcum cum Germanōrum agro; neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallōrum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere, et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit: hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse ejus imperia diutius sustineri: nisi si quid in Caesăre Populoque Romāno sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent; aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germānis, petant; fortunamque, quaecunque accidat, experiantur. Haec si enunciata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesărem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine Populi Romāni deterrere posse, ne major multitudo Germanōrum Rhenum traducatur; Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiăco habita, omnes, qui aderant, magno fletu auxilium a Caesăre petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar, unos ex omnibus Sequănos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri

and calamities, although they had formerly been very powerful in Gaul, both from their own valor and from the Roman people's hospitality and friendship, they were now compelled to give the chief nobles of their state, as hostages to the Sequăni, and to bind their state by an oath, that they would neither demand hostages in return, nor supplicate aid from the Roman people, nor refuse to be forever under their sway and empire. That he was the only one out of all the state of the Ædui, who could not be prevailed upon to take the oath or to give his children as hostages. On that account he had fled from his state and had gone to the senate at Rome to demand aid, as he alone was bound neither by oath nor hostages. But a worse thing had befallen the victorious Sequăni than the vanquished Ædui, for Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, had settled in their territories, and had seized upon a third part of the land of the Sequăni, which was the best in the whole of Gaul, and was now ordering the Sequăni to depart from another third part, because a few months previously twenty-four thousand men of the Harūdes had come to him, for whom room and settlements must be provided. The consequence would be, that in a few years they would all be driven from the territories of Gaul, and all the Germans would cross the Rhine; for neither must the land of Gaul be compared with the land of the Germans, nor must the habit of living of the latter be put on a level with that of the former. Moreover, Ariovistus, as soon as he defeated the forces of the Gauls in a battle, which took place at Magetobria, lorded it haughtily and cruelly, demanded as hostages the children of all the principal nobles, and wreaked on them every kind of cruelty, if every thing was not done at his nod or pleasure; that he was a savage, passionate, and reckless man; that his commands could no longer be borne. Unless there was some aid in Cæsar and the Roman people, the Gauls must all do the same thing that the Helvetii have done, [viz.] emigrate from their country, and seek another dwelling place, other settlements remote from the Germans, and try whatever fortune may fall to their lot. If these things were to be disclosed to Ariovistus, he doubts not that he would inflict the most severe punishment on all the hostages who are in his possession; that Cæsar could, either by his own influence and by that of his army, or by his late victory, or by name of the Roman people, intimidate him, so as to prevent a greater number of Germans being brought over the Rhine, and could protect all Gaul from the outrages of Ariovistus.

32. When this speech had been delivered by Divitiăcus, all who were present began with loud lamentation to entreat assistance of Cæsar. Cæsar noticed that the Sequăni were the only people of all who did none of those things which the others did, but, with

facerent; sed tristes, capite demisso, terram intueri. Ejus rei causa quae esset miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequăni respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Quum ab iis saepius quaereret, neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiăcus Aeduus respondit: Hoc esse miseriorem gravioremque fortunam Sequanōrum, prae reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri, nec auxilium implorare, auderent, absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent: propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur; Sequănis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

33. His rebus cognitis, Caesar Gallōrum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est, Sibi eam rem curae futuram: magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo et auctoritate aductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret; in primis, quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero ab Senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanōrum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequănos intelligebat: quod, in tanto imperio Populi Romāni, turpissimum sibi et Reipublicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germānos consuescere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire, Populo Romāno periculosum videbat: neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, quum omnem Galliam occupassent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonīque fecissent, in Provinciam exirent, atque inde in Italiam contenderent; praesertim quum Sequănos a Provincia nostra Rhodănus divideret. Quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque colloquio diceret: velle sese de Republica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legatoni Ariovistus respondit: Si quid ipsi a Caesăre opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille a se velit, illum ad se venire opportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret;

their heads bowed down, gazed on the earth in sadness. Wondering what was the reason of this conduct, he inquired of them themselves. No reply did the Sequăni make, but silently continued in the same sadness. When he had repeatedly inquired of them and could not elicit any answer at all, the same Divitiăcus the Æduan answered, that, — "the lot of the Sequăni was more wretched and grievous than that of the rest, on this account, because they alone durst not even in secret complain or supplicate aid; and shuddered at the cruelty of Ariovistus [even when] absent, just as if he were present; for, to the rest, despite of every thing, there was an opportunity of flight given; but all tortures must be endured by the Sequăni, who had admitted Ariovistus within their territories, and whose towns were all in his power."

33. Cæsar, on being informed of these things, cheered the minds of the Gauls with his words, and promised that this affair should be an object of his concern, that he had great hopes that Ariovistus, induced both by his kindness and his power, would put an end to his oppression. After delivering this speech, he dismissed the assembly; and, besides those statements, many circumstances induced him to think that this affair ought to be considered and taken up by him; especially as he saw that the Ædui, styled repeatedly by the senate "brethren" and "kinsmen," were held in the thraldom and dominion of the Germans, and understood that their hostages were with Ariovistus and the Sequăni, which in so mighty an empire [as that] of the Roman people he considered very disgraceful to himself and the republic. That, moreover, the Germans should by degrees become accustomed to cross the Rhine, and that a great body of them should come into Gaul, he saw [would be] dangerous to the Roman people, and judged, that wild and savage men would not be likely to restrain themselves, after they had possessed themselves of all Gaul, from going forth into the province and thence marching into Italy as the Cimbri and Teutŏnes had done before them, particularly as the Rhone separated the Sequăni from our province. Against which events he thought he ought to provide as speedily as possible. Moreover, Ariovistus, for his part, had assumed to himself such pride and arrogance, that he was felt to be quite insufferable.

34. He therefore determined to send ambassadors to Ariovistus to demand of him to name some intermediate spot for a conference between the two, [saying] that he wished to treat him on state-business and matters of the highest importance to both of them. To this embassy Ariovistus replied, that if he himself had had need of any thing from Cæsar, he would have gone to him; and that if he [Cæsar] wanted any thing from him he ought to come to him. That, besides, neither dare he go without an army into those parts of Gaul which Cæsar had possession of, nor could he, without great

neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque emolumento in unum locum contrahere posse: sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia quam bello vicisset, aut Caesări, aut omnino Populo Romāno negotii esset.

35. His responsis ad Caesărem relatis, iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: Quoniam, tanto suo Populique Romāni beneficio affectus, quum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a Senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi Populoque Romāno gratiam referret, ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur, neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret; haec esse, quae ab eo postularet: primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret: deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Aeduis, redderet; Sequănisque permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent, voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos infuria lacesseret, neve his sociisve eorum bellum inferret. Si id ita fecisset, sibi Populoque Romāno perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, quoniam, Marco Messāla, Marco Pisone, Consulibus, Senatus censuisset, uti, quicunque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo Reipublicae facere posset, Aeduos caeterosque amicos Populi Romāni defenderet, sese Aeduōrum injurias non neglecturum.

36. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: Jus esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, iis quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent: item Populum Romānum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium, imperare consuesse. Si ipse Populo Romāno non praescriberet, quemadmodum suo jure uteretur; non oportere sese a Populo Romāno in suo jure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam tentassent, et armis congressi ac superati essent stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesărem injuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque iis, neque eorum sociis injuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent: si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen Populi Romāni abfuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denunciaret, se Aeduōrum injurias non neglecturum; neminem secum sine sua

expense and trouble, draw his army together to one place; that to him, moreover, it appeared strange, what business either Cæsar or the Roman people at all had in his own Gaul, which he had conquered in war.

35. When these answers were reported to Cæsar, he sends ambassadors to him a second time with this message. "Since, after having been treated with so much kindness by himself and the Roman people in that he had in his consulship been styled 'king and friend' by the senate, he makes this recompense to himself and the Roman people, that when invited to a conference he demurs, and does not think that it concerns him to advise and inform himself about an object of mutual interest, these are the things which he requires of him; first, that he do not any more bring over any body of men across the Rhine into Gaul; in the next place, that he restore the hostages, which he has from the Ædui, and grant the Sequăni permission to restore to them with his consent those hostages which they have, and that he neither provoke the Ædui by outrage nor make war upon them or their allies; if he would accordingly do this, that he himself and the Roman people will entertain a perpetual feeling of favor and friendship toward him; if he does not obtain [his desires] that he, forasmuch as in the consulship of Marcus Messăla and Marcus Piso the Senate had decreed that, whoever should have the administration of the province of Gaul should, as far as he could do so consistently with the interests of the public, protect the Ædui and the other friends of the Roman people, that he will not overlook the wrongs of the Ædui."

36. To this Ariovistus replied that "the right of war was, that they who had conquered should govern those whom they had conquered, in what manner they pleased; that in that way the Roman people were wont to govern the nations which they had conquered, not according to the dictation of any other, but according to their own discretion. If he for his part did not dictate to the Roman people as to the manner in which they were to exercise their right, he ought not to be obstructed by the Roman people in his right; that the Ædui, inasmuch as they had tried the fortune of war and had engaged in arms and been conquered, had become tributaries to him; that Cæsar was doing a great injustice, in that by his arrival he was making his revenues less valuable to him; that he should not restore their hostages to the Ædui, but should not make war wrongfully either upon them or their allies, if they abided by that which had been agreed on, and paid their tribute annually: if they did not continue to do that, the Roman people's name of 'brothers' would avail them naught. As to Cæsar's threatening him, that he would not overlook the wrongs of the Ædui, no one had ever entered into a contest with him without utter ruin to himself. That Cæsar might enter the lists when he

pernicie contendisse. Quum vellet congrederetur; intellecturum, quid invicti Germāni, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos quatuordecim tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesări mandata referebantur, et legati ab Aeduis et a Trevīris veniebant: Aedui questum, quod Harūdes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur; sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse: Trevīri autem, pagos centum Suevōrum ad ripas Rheni consedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; iis praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar, vehementer commotus, maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevōrum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentaria, quam celerrime potuit, comparata, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Quum tridui viam processisset, nunciatum est ei, Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontiōnem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanōrum, contendere, triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id ne accideret, magno opere praecavendum sibi Caesar existimabat: namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas; idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis, ut circino circumductum, paene totum oppidum cingit; reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum sexcentorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices ejus montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit, et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Caesar magnis diurnis nocturnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium collocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontiōnem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percunctatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallōrum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germānos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant, saepenumero sese cum eis congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis, reliquisque, que ex urbe, amicitiae causa, Caesărem secuti, non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius, alia causa

chose; he would feel what the invincible Germans, well-trained in arms, who for fourteen years had not been beneath a roof, could achieve by their valor."

37. At the same time that this message was delivered to Cæsar, ambassadors came from the Ædui and the Trevīri; the Ædui to complain that the Harūdes, who had lately been brought over into Gaul, were ravaging their territories; that they had not been able to purchase peace from Ariovistus, even by giving hostages: the Trevīri, moreover, that a hundred cantons of the Suevi had encamped on the banks of the Rhine, and were attempting to cross it; that the brothers, Nasua and Cimberius, headed them. Being greatly alarmed at these things, Cæsar thought that he ought to use all dispatch, lest, if this new band of Suevi should unite with the old troops of Ariovistus, he might be less easily withstood. Having therefore, as quickly as he could, provided a supply of corn, he hastened to Ariovistus by forced marches.

38. When he had proceeded three days' journey, word was brought to him that Ariovistus was hastening with all his forces to seize on Vesontio, which is the largest town of the Sequāni, and had advanced three days' journey from his territories. Cæsar thought that he ought to take the greatest precautions lest this should happen, for there was in that town a most ample supply of every thing which was serviceable for war; and so fortified was it by the nature of the ground, as to afford a great facility for protracting the war, inasmuch as the river Doubs almost surrounds the whole town, as though it were traced round it with a pair of compasses. A mountain of great height shuts in the remaining space, which is not more than six hundred feet, where the river leaves a gap, in such a manner that the roots of that mountain extend to the river's bank on either side. A wall thrown around it makes a citadel of this [mountain], and connects it with the town. Hither Cæsar hastens by forced marches by night and day, and, after having seized the town, stations a garrison there.

39. While he is tarrying a few days at Vesontio, on account of corn and provisions; from the inquiries of our men and the reports of the Gauls and traders, who asserted that the Germans were men of huge stature, of incredible valor and practice in arms — that oftentimes they, on encountering them, could not bear even their countenance, and the fierceness of their eyes, — so great a panic on a sudden seized the whole army, as to discompose the minds and spirits of all in no slight degree. This first arose from the tribunes of the soldiers, the prefects and the rest, who, having followed Cæsar from the city from motives of friendship, had no great experience in military affairs. And alleging, some of them

illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat, ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret: nonnulli, pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lachrymas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore, paulatim etiam ii, qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, quique equitatui praerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris, et magnitudinem sylvarum, quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Caesări renunciabant, quum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites, nec propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Haec quum animadvertisset, convocato concilio, omniumque ordinum ad id concilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: Primum, quod aut quam in partem, aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum, se consule, cupidissime Populi Romani amicitiam appetisse; cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis, atque aequitate conditionum perspecta, eum neque suam, neque Populi Romāni gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute, aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, quum, Cimbris et Teutŏnis a Căio Mario pulsis, non minorem laudem exercitus, quam ipse imperator, meritus videbatur: factum etiam nuper in Italia, servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posset, quantum haberet in se boni constantia; propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermos sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi, non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus, plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallōrum commoveret, hos, si quaererent,

one reason, some another, which they said made it necessary for them to depart, they requested that by his consent they might be allowed to withdraw; some, influenced by shame, stayed behind in order that they might avoid the suspicion of cowardice. These could neither compose their countenance, nor even sometimes check their tears: but hidden in their tents, either bewailed their fate, or deplored with their comrades the general danger. Wills were sealed universally throughout the whole camp. By the expressions and cowardice of these men, even those who possessed great experience in the camp, both soldiers and centurions, and those who were in command of the cavalry, were disconcerted. Such of them as wished to be considered less alarmed, said that they did not dread the enemy, but feared the narrowness of the roads and the vastness of the forests which lay between them and Ariovistus, or else that the supplies could not be brought up readily enough. Some even declared to Cæsar, that when he gave orders for the camp to be moved and the troops to advance, the soldiers would not be obedient to the command, nor advance in consequence of their fear.

40. When Cæsar observed these things, having called a council, and summoned to it the centurions of all the companies, he severely reprimanded them, "particularly, for supposing that it belonged to them to inquire or conjecture, either in what direction they were marching, or with what object. That Ariovistus, during his consulship, had most anxiously sought after the friendship of the Roman people; why should any one judge that he would so rashly depart from his duty? He for his part was persuaded, that, when his demands were known and the fairness of the terms considered, he would reject neither his nor the Roman people's favor. But even if, driven on by rage and madness, he should make war upon them, what after all were they afraid of?— or why should they despair either of their own valor or of his zeal? Of that enemy a trial had been made within our fathers' recollection, when, on the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutŏnes by Caius Marius, the army was regarded as having deserved no less praise than their commander himself. It had been made lately, too, in Italy, during the rebellion of the slaves, whom, however, the experience and training which they had received from us, assisted in some respect. From which a judgment might be formed of the advantages which resolution carries with it — inasmuch as those whom for some time they had groundlessly dreaded when unarmed, they had afterwards vanquished, when well armed and flushed with success. In short, that these were the same men whom the Helvetii, in frequent encounters, not only in their own territories, but also in theirs have generally vanquished, and yet can not have been a match for our army. If the unsuccessful battle and flight of the Gauls disquieted any, these, if they made inquiries, might discover

reperire posse, diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis, Ariovistum, quum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset, neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum, magis ratione et consilio, quam virtute, vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare, nostros exercitus capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem, angustiasque itinerum conferrent, facere arroganter, quum aut de officio imperatoris desperare, aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae; frumentum Sequănos, Leucos, Lingŏnas subministrare; jamque esse in agris frumenta matura: de itinere, ipsos brevi tempore judicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes milites, neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri: scire enim, quibuscunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut, male re gesta, fortunam defuisse; aut, aliquo facinore comperto, avaritiam esse conjunctam. Suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiōrum bello, esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem collaturus esset, reprae-sentaturum; et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret; sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue, et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita, mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est; princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum judicium fecisset; seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones per tribunos militum et primorum ordinum centuriones egerunt, uti Caesări satisfacerent: Se neque unquam dubitasse neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum judicium, sed imperatoris esse, existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiăcum, quod ex Gallis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut millium amplius quinquaginta circuitu, locis apertis, exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, quum

that, when the Gauls had been tired out by the long duration of the war, Ariovistus, after he had many months kept himself in his camp and in the marshes, and had given no opportunity for an engagement, fell suddenly upon them, by this time despairing of a battle and scattered in all directions, and was victorious more through stratagem and cunning than valor. But though there had been room for stratagem against savage and unskilled men, not even [Ariovistus] himself expected that thereby our armies could be entrapped. That those who ascribed their fear to a pretence about the supplies and the narrowness of the roads, acted presumptuously, as they seemed either to distrust their general's discharge of his duty, or to dictate to him. That these things were his concern; that the Sequăni, the Leuci, and the Lingŏnes were to furnish the corn; and that it was already ripe in the fields; that as to the road they would soon be able to judge for themselves. As to its being reported that the soldiers would not be obedient to command, or advance, he was not at all disturbed at that; for he knew, that in the case of all those whose army had not been obedient to command, either upon some mismanagement of an affair, fortune had deserted them, or, that upon some crime being discovered, covetousness had been clearly proved [against them]. His integrity had been seen throughout his whole life, his good fortune in the war with the Helvetii. That he would therefore instantly set about what he had intended to put off till a more distant day, and would break up his camp the next night, in the fourth watch, that he might ascertain, as soon as possible, whether a sense of honor and duty, or whether fear had more influence with them. But that, if no one else should follow, yet he would go with only the tenth legion, of which he had no misgivings, and it should be his prætorian cohort." — This legion Cæsar had both greatly favored, and in it, on account of its valor, placed the greatest confidence.

41. Upon the delivery of this speech, the minds of all were changed in a surprising manner, and the highest ardor and eagerness for prosecuting the war were engendered; and the tenth legion was the first to return thanks to him, through their military tribunes, for his having expressed this most favorable opinion of them; and assured him that they were quite ready to prosecute the war. Then, the other legions endeavored, through their military tribunes and the centurions of the principal companies, to excuse themselves to Cæsar, [saying] that they had never either doubted or feared, or supposed that the determination of the conduct of the war was theirs and not their general's. Having accepted their excuse, and having had the road carefully reconnoitered by Divitiăcus, because in him of all the Gauls he had the greatest faith, [he found] that by a circuitous route of more than fifty miles he might lead his army through open parts; he then set out in the fourth watch, as

iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris millibus passuum quatuor et viginti abesse.

42. Cognito Caesăris adventu, Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: Quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset: seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare. Non respuit conditionem Caesar: jamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, quum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur; magnamque in spem veniebat, pro suis tantis Populique Romāni in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore, uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est, ex eo die quintus. Interim, quum saepe ultro citroque legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, Ne quem peditem ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equitatu veniret: alia ratione se non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque colloquium, interposita causa, tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallōrum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis, eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod quum fieret, non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: Plus, quam pollicitus esset, Caesărem ei facere; pollicitum, se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum; nunc, ad equum rescribere.

43. Planities erat magna, et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris utrisque aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus, ex equis ut colloquerentur, et, praeter se, denos ut ad colloquium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar, initio orationis, sua Senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit; Quod rex appellatus esset a Senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse, et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat: illum, quum neque aditum neque causam

he had said. On the seventh day, as he did not discontinue his march, he was informed by scouts that the forces of Ariovistus were only four and twenty miles distant from ours.

42. Upon being apprised of Cæsar's arrival, Ariovistus sends ambassadors to him, [saying] that what he had before requested as to a conference, might now, as far as his permission went, take place, since he [Cæsar] had approached nearer, and he considered that he might now do it without danger. Cæsar did not reject the proposal and began to think that he was now returning to a rational state of mind, as he spontaneously proffered that which he had previously refused to him when requesting it; and was in great hopes that, in consideration of his own and the Roman people's great favors toward him, the issue would be that he would desist from his obstinacy upon his demands being made known. The fifth day after that was appointed as the day of conference. Meanwhile, as ambassadors were being often sent to and fro between them, Ariovistus demanded that Cæsar should not bring any foot-soldier with him to the conference, [saying] that "he was afraid of being ensnared by him through treachery; that both should come accompanied by cavalry; that he would not come on any other condition." Cæsar, as he neither wished that the conference should, by an excuse thrown in the way, be set aside, nor durst trust his life to the cavalry of the Gauls, decided that it would be most expedient to take away from the Gallic cavalry all their horses, and thereon to mount the legionary soldiers of the tenth legion, in which he placed the greatest confidence, in order that he might have a body-guard as trustworthy as possible, should there be any need for action. And when this was done, one of the soldiers of the tenth legion said, not without a touch of humor, "that Cæsar did more for them than he had promised; he had promised to have the tenth legion in place of his prætorian cohort; but he now converted them into horse."

43. There was a large plain, and in it a mound of earth of considerable size. This spot was at nearly an equal distance from both camps. Thither, as had been appointed, they came for the conference. Cæsar stationed the legion, which he had brought [with him] on horseback, two hundred paces from this mound. The cavalry of Ariovistus also took their stand at an equal distance. Ariovistus then demanded that they should confer on horseback, and that, besides themselves, they should bring with them ten men each to the conference. When they were come to the place, Cæsar, in the opening of his speech, detailed his own and the senate's favors toward him, how that he had been styled king, how that [he had been styled] friend, by the senate — how that very considerable presents had been sent him; which circumstance he informed him had both fallen to the lot of few, and had usually been bestowed in consideration of important personal services;

postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac Senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam, Quam veteres quamque justae causae necessitudinis, ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent; quae Senatus consulta, quoties, quamque honorifica in eos facta essent: ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent: Populi Romāni hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam Populi Romāni attulissent, id iis eripi, quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in mandatis dederat; Ne aut Aeduis, aut eorum sociis, bellum inferret; obsides redderet: si nullam partem Germanōrum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesāris pauca respondit; de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia, ab ipsis concessas; obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuerint; non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse, ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio fusas ac superatas esse; si iterum experiri velint, iterum paratum sese decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse, de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam Populi Romāni sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere: idque se ea spe petisse. Si per Populum Romānum stipendium remittatur, et deditītii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum Populi Romāni amicitiam, quam apetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanōrum in Galliam transducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae impugnandae, causa facere; ejus rei testimonium esse, quod, nisi rogatus, non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse, quam Populum Romānum. Nunquam ante hoc tempus exercitum Populi Romāni Galliae provinciae fines egressum. Quid sibi vellet? Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam esse hanc Galliam, sicuti illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret: sic

that he, although he had neither an introduction, nor a just ground for the request, had obtained these honors through the kindness and munificence of himself and the senate. He informed him too, how old and how just were the grounds of connection that existed between themselves and the Ædui, what decrees of the senate had been passed in their favor, how frequent and how honorable; how from time immemorial the Ædui had held the supremacy of the whole of Gaul; even before they had sought our friendship; that it was the custom of the Roman people to desire not only that its allies and friends should lose none of their property, but be advanced in influence, dignity, and honor: who then could endure that what they had brought with them to the friendship of the Roman people, should be torn from them?" He then made the same demands which he had commissioned the ambassadors to make, that [Ariovistus] should not make war either upon the Ædui or their allies, that he should restore the hostages; that, if he could not send back to their country any part of the Germans, he should at all events suffer none of them any more to cross the Rhine.

44. Ariovistus briefly replied to the demands of Cæsar; but expatiated largely on his own virtues, "that he had crossed the Rhine not of his own accord, but on being invited and sent for by the Gauls; that he had not left home and kindred without great expectations and great rewards; that he had settlements in Gaul, granted by the Gauls themselves; that the hostages had been given by their own good-will; that he took by right of war the tribute which conquerors are accustomed to impose on the conquered; that he had not made war upon the Gauls, but the Gauls upon him; that all the states of Gaul came to attack him, and had encamped against him; that all their forces had been routed and beaten by him in a single battle; that if they chose to make a second trial, he was ready to encounter them again; but if they chose to enjoy peace, it was unfair to refuse the tribute, which of their own free-will they had paid up to that time. That the friendship of the Roman people ought to prove to him an ornament and a safeguard, not a detriment; and that he sought it with that expectation. But if through the Roman people the tribute was to be discontinued, and those who surrendered to be seduced from him, he would renounce the friendship of the Roman people no less heartily than he had sought it. As to his leading over a host of Germans into Gaul, that he was doing this with a view of securing himself, not of assaulting Gaul: that there was evidence of this, in that he did not come without being invited, and in that he did not make war, but merely warded it off. That he had come into Gaul before the Roman people. That never before this time did a Roman army go beyond the frontiers of the province of Gaul. What does he (Cæsar) desire for himself? — why come into his domains? — that this was his province of Gaul, just as that is ours. As it ought not to be pardoned in

item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo jure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres a Senatu Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret, neque bello Allobrŏgum proximo Aeduos Romānis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequānis habuissent, auxilio Populi Romāni usos esse. Debere se suspicari, simulata Caesārem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat, atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed pro hoste habiturum: quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque Populi Romāni gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuncios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam ejus morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset, ac liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum; et, quaecunque bella geri vellet, sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum.

45. Multa ab Caesāre in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset, et neque suam neque Populi Romāni consuetudinem pati, uti optime meritos socios desereret; neque se judicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romāni. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutūnos ab Quinto Fabio Maxĭmo, quibus Populus Romānus ignovisset; neque in provinciam redegisset, neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, Populi Romāni justissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si judicium Senatus servari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

46. Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesāri nunciatum est, equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere, et ad nostros adequitare; lapides telaque in nostros conjicere Caesar loquendi finem fecit; seque ad suos recepit; suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. Nam, etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut, pulsis hostibus, dici posset, eos ab se per fidem in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus, omni Gallia Romānis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecissent; eaque res colloquium ut diremisset, multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitui injectum est.

him, if he were to make an attack upon our territories; so, likewise, that we were unjust, to obstruct him in his prerogative. As for Cæsar's saying that the Ædui had been styled 'brethren' by the senate, he was not so uncivilized nor so ignorant of affairs, as not to know that the Ædui in the very last war with the Allobrŏges had neither rendered assistance to the Romans, nor received any from the Roman people in the struggles which the Ædui had been maintaining with him and with the Sequăni. He must feel suspicious, that Cæsar, though feigning friendship as the reason for his keeping an army in Gaul, was keeping it with the view of crushing him. And that unless he depart and withdraw his army from these parts, he shall regard him not as a friend, but as a foe; and that, even if he should put him to death, he should do what would please many of the nobles and leading men of the Roman people; he had assurance of that from themselves through their messengers, and could purchase the favor and the friendship of them all by his death. But if he would depart and resign to him the free possession of Gaul, he would recompense him with a great reward, and would bring to a close whatever wars he wished to be carried on, without any trouble or risk to him."

45. Many things were stated by Cæsar to this effect, "why he could not waive the business, and that neither his nor the Roman people's practice would suffer him to abandon most meritorious allies, nor did he deem that Gaul belonged to Ariovistus rather than to the Roman people; that the Arverni and the Rutēni had been subdued in war by Quintus Fabius Maximus, and that the Roman people had pardoned them and had not reduced them into a province or imposed a tribute upon them. And if the most ancient period was to be regarded — then was the sovereignty of the Roman people in Gaul most just: if the decree of the Senate was to be observed, then ought Gaul to be free, which they had conquered in war, and had permitted to enjoy its own laws."

46. While these things are being transacted in the conference it was announced to Cæsar that the cavalry of Ariovistus were approaching nearer the mound, and were riding up to our men, and casting stones and weapons at them. Cæsar made an end of his speech and betook himself to his men; and commanded them that they should by no means return a weapon upon the enemy. For though he saw that an engagement with the cavalry would be without any danger to his chosen legion, yet he did not think proper to engage, lest, after the enemy were routed, it might be said that they had been insnared by him under the sanction of a conference. When it was spread abroad among the common soldiery with what haughtiness Ariovistus had behaved at the conference, and how he had ordered the Romans to quit Gaul, and how his cavalry had made an attack upon our men, and how this had broken off the conference, a much greater alacrity and eagerness for battle was infused into our army.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesărem legatos mittit, Velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae, neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret; aut, si id minus vellet, ex suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Caesări causa visa non est; et eo magis, quod pridie ejus diei Germāni retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum ex suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris objecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est, Cāium Valerium Procillum, Caii Valerii Cabūri filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem (cujus pater a Cāio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat) et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallĭcae scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germānis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et Marcum Mettium, qui hospitio Ariovisti usus erat. His mandavit, ut, quae, diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos quum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente, conclamavit: Quid ad se venirent? An speculandi causa? Conantes dicere prohibuit, et in catenas conjecit.

48. Eodem die castra promovit, et millibus passuum sex a Caesăris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Caesăris suas copias transduxit, et millibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequănis et Aeduis supportaretur, Caesărem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit; equestri proelio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum millia erant sex; totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi; quos ex omni copia singuli singulos, suae salutis causa, delegerant. Cum his in proeliis versabantur, ad hos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant: si qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderat, circumsistebant: si quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut, jubis equorum sublevati, cursum adaequarent.

47. Two days after, Ariovistus sends ambassadors to Cæsar, to state "that he wished to treat with him about those things which had been begun to be treated of between them, but had not been concluded;" that "he would either again appoint a day for a conference; or, if he were not willing to do that, that he would send some one of his lieutenants to him." There did not appear to Cæsar any good reason for holding a conference; and the more so as the day before the Germans could not be restrained from casting weapons at our men. He thought he should not without great danger send to him an ambassador from his (officers), and should expose him to savage men. It seemed most proper to send to him Caius Valerius Procillus, the son of Caius Valerius Caburus, a young man of the highest courage and accomplishments (whose father had been presented with the freedom of the city by Caius Valerius Flaccus), both on account of his fidelity and on account of his knowledge of the Gallic language, which Ariovistus, by long practice, now spoke fluently; and because in his case the Germans would have no motive for committing violence; and Marcus Mettius, who had shared the hospitality of Ariovistus. He commissioned them to learn what Ariovistus had to say, and to report to him. But when Ariovistus saw them before him in his camp, he cried out in the presence of his army, "Why were they come to him? was it for the purpose of acting as spies?" He stopped them when attempting to speak and cast them into chains.

48. The same day he moved his camp forward and pitched under a hill six miles from Cæsar's camp. The day following he led his forces past Cæsar's camp, and encamped two miles beyond him; with this design — that he might cut off Cæsar from the corn and the provisions, which might be conveyed to him from the Sequăni and the Ædui. For five successive days from that day, Cæsar drew out his forces before the camp, and put them in battle order, that, if Ariovistus should be willing to engage in battle, an opportunity might not be wanting to him. Ariovistus all this time kept his army in camp: but engaged daily in cavalry skirmishes. The method of battle in which the Germans had practised themselves was this. There were six thousand horse, and as many very active and courageous foot, one of whom each of the horse selected out of the whole army for his own protection. By these they were constantly accompanied in their engagements; to these the horse retired; these on any emergency rushed forward; if any one, upon receiving a very severe wound, had fallen from his horse, they stood around him: if it was necessary to advance further than usual, or to retreat more rapidly, so great, from practice, was their swiftness, that, supported by the manes of their horses, they could keep pace with their speed.

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germāni consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab eis, castris idoneum locum delegit; acieque triplici instructa, ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim millia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare; tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris, duas ibi legiones reliquit, et partem auxiliorum: quatuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die, instituto suo, Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit; paulumque a majoribus progressus, aciem instruxit, hostibusque pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit; acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus, multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus, in castra reduxit. Quum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam: quod apud Germānos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres familiae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, nec ne: eas ita dicere: Non esse fas Germānos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.

51. Postridie ejus diei Caesar praesidio utrisque castris, quod satis esse visum est, reliquit; omnes alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur. Ipse, triplici instructa acie, usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germāni suas copias castris eduxerunt, generatimque constituerunt, paribusque intervallis, Harūdes, Marcomannos, Triboccos, Vangiōnes, Nemētes, Sedusios, Suēvos; omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes milites passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romānis traderent.

49. Perceiving that Ariovistus kept himself in camp, Cæsar, that he might not any longer be cut off from provisions, chose a convenient position for a camp beyond that place in which the Germans had encamped, at about six hundred paces from them, and having drawn up his army in three lines, marched to that place. He ordered the first and second lines to be under arms; the third to fortify the camp. This place was distant from the enemy about six hundred paces, as has been stated. Thither Ariovistus sent light troops, about sixteen thousand men in number, with all his cavalry; which forces were to intimidate our men, and hinder them in their fortification. Cæsar nevertheless, as he had before arranged, ordered two lines to drive off the enemy: the third to execute the work. The camp being fortified, he left there two legions and a portion of the auxiliaries; and led back the other four legions into the larger camp.

50. The next day, according to his custom, Cæsar led out his forces from both camps, and having advanced a little from the larger one, drew up his line of battle, and gave the enemy an opportunity of fighting. When he found that they did not even then come out, he led back his army into camp about noon. Then at last Ariovistus sent part of his forces to attack the lesser camp. The battle was vigorously maintained on both sides till the evening. At sunset, after many wounds had been inflicted and received, Ariovistus led back his forces into camp. When Cæsar inquired of his prisoners, wherefore Ariovistus did not come to an engagement, he discovered this to be the reason — that among the Germans it was the custom for their matrons to pronounce from lots and divination, whether it were expedient that the battle should be engaged in or not; that they had said, "that it was not the will of heaven that the Germans should conquer, if they engaged in battle before the new moon."

51. The day following, Cæsar left what seemed sufficient as a guard for both camps; he drew up all the auxiliaries in sight of the enemy, before the lesser camp, because he was not very powerful in the number of legionary soldiers, considering the number of the enemy; that he might make use of his auxiliaries for appearance. He himself, having drawn up his army in three lines, advanced to the camp of the enemy. Then at last of necessity the Germans drew their forces out of camp, and disposed them canton by canton, and at equal distances, the Harudes, Marcomanni, Tribocci, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii, Suevi; and surrounded their whole army with their chariots and wagons, that no hope might be left in flight. On these they placed their women, who, with outstretched hands and in tears, entreated the soldiers, as they went forward to battle, not to deliver them into slavery to the Romans.

52. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet. Ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animum adverterat, proelium commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes, signo dato, impetum fecerunt: itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes conjiciendi non daretur. Rejectis pilis, cominus gladiis pugnatum est: at Germāni, celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta, impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent, et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent. Quum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id quum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adolescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat, quam hi qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita proelium restitutum est; atque omnes hostes terga verterunt, neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum millia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinquaginta pervenerint. Ibi perpauci, aut viribus confisi transnatare contenderunt, aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem repererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui, naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus, ea profugit: reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Suēva natione, quam ab domo secum eduxerat; altera Norĭca, regis Vociōnis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat, a fratre missam: utraeque in ea fuga perierunt. Duae filiae harum, altera occisa, altera capta est. Cāius Valerius Procillus, quum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesărem, hostes equitatu persequentem, incidit. Quae quidem res Caesări non minorem, quam ipsa victoria, voluptatem attulit; quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat; neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quidquam fortuna diminuerat. Is, se praesente, de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item Marcus Mettius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

52. Cæsar appointed over each legion a lieutenant and a questor, that every one might have them as witnesses of his valor. He himself began the battle at the head of the right wing, because he had observed that part of the enemy to be the least strong. Accordingly our men, upon the signal being given, vigorously made an attack upon the enemy, and the enemy so suddenly and rapidly rushed forward, that there was no time for casting the javelins at them. Throwing aside their javelins, they fought with swords hand to hand. But the Germans, according to their custom, rapidly forming a phalanx, sustained the attack of our swords. There were found very many of our soldiers who leaped upon the phalanx, and with their hands tore away the shields, and wounded the enemy from above. Although the army of the enemy was routed on the left wing and put to flight, they pressed heavily on our men from the right wing, by the great number of their troops. On observing which, Publius Crassus, a young man, who commanded the cavalry — as he was more disengaged than those who were employed in the fight — sent the third line as a relief to our men who were in distress.

53. Thereupon the engagement was renewed, and all the enemy turned their backs, nor did they cease to flee until they arrived at the river Rhine, about fifty miles from that place. There some few, either relying on their strength, endeavored to swim over, or, finding boats, procured their safety. Among the latter was Ariovistus, who meeting with a small vessel tied to the bank, escaped in it; our horse pursued and slew all the rest of them. Ariovistus had two wives, one a Suevan by nation, whom he brought with him from home; the other a Norican, the sister of king Vocio, whom he had married in Gaul, she having been sent by her brother. Both perished in that flight. Of their two daughters, one was slain, the other captured. Caius Valerius Procillus, as he was being dragged by his guards in the fight, bound with a triple chain, fell into the hands of Cæsar himself, as he was pursuing the enemy with his cavalry. This circumstance indeed afforded Cæsar no less pleasure than the victory itself; because he saw a man of the first rank in the province of Gaul, his intimate acquaintance and friend, rescued from the hand of the enemy, and restored to him, and that fortune had not diminished aught of the joy and exultation by his destruction. He said that, in his own presence, the lots had been thrice consulted respecting him, whether he should immediately be put to death by fire, or be reserved for another time: that by the favor of the lots he was uninjured. Marcus Mettius, also, was found and brought back to him.

54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nunciato, Suēvi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt: quos Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos insecuti, magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Caesar, una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo, quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequānos exercitum deduxit: hibernis Labiēnum praeposuit: ipse in citeriorem Galliam, ad conventus agendos, profectus est.

54. This battle having been reported beyond the Rhine, the Suevi, who had come to the banks of that river, began to return home, whom the Ubii, who dwell nearest to the Rhine, pursuing, while much alarmed, slew a great number of them. Cæsar having concluded two very important wars in one campaign, conducted his army into winter quarters among the Sequăni, a little earlier than the season of the year required. He appointed Labienus over the winter quarters, and set out in person for Hither Gaul to hold the assizes.

BOOK SECOND.

SYNOPSIS.

This book opens with an account of how all the Belgians, with the exception of the Remi, had entered into a conspiracy against the Roman people; how Cæsar leads his army across the river Axona against them, and sends reinforcements to the town Bibracte, and also his lieutenant Quintus Titurius, who are assailed by the Belgians.

Finding that these assaults are attempted without any results, they divide their forces, each one for the purpose of defending his own territories.

Cæsar pursues them as they depart, and receives into a surrender the Suessiones, Bellovaci, and Ambiani. He then vanquishes the Nervii bravely defending themselves, and in like manner the Aduatici.

C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER II.

1. Quum esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, literisque item Labiēni certior fiebat, omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus, contra Populum Romānum conjurare, obsidesque inter se dare: conjurandi has esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur: deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germānos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita Populi Romāni exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant; partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant: ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque his, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem in imperiō nostro consequi poterant.

2. Iis nunciis literisque commotus Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit; et inita aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Quintum Pedium legatum misit. Ipse, quum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit; dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quae apud eos gerantur, cognoscant; seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nunciaverunt manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria provisa, castra movet, diebusque circiter quindecim ad fines Belgārum pervenit.

3. Eo quum de improviso, celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui dicerent, Se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem Populi Romāni permittere; neque se cum reliquis Belgis consensisse, neque contra Populum Romānum omnino conjurasse: paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere, et frumento caeterisque rebus

THE

COMMENTARIES OF C. JULIUS CÆSAR

ON THE GALLIC WAR.

BOOK II.

1. While Cæsar was in winter quarters in Hither Gaul, as we have shown above, frequent reports were brought to him, and he was also informed by letters from Labienus, that all the Belgæ, who we have said are a third part of Gaul, were entering into a confederacy against the Roman people, and giving hostages to one another; that the reasons of the confederacy were these — first, because they feared that, after all Gaul was subdued, our army would be led against them; secondly, because they were instigated by several of the Gauls; some of whom as they had been unwilling that the Germans should remain any longer in Gaul, so they were dissatisfied that the army of the Roman people should pass the winter in it, and settle there; and others of them, from a natural instability and fickleness of disposition, were anxious for a revolution; by several, also, because the government in Gaul was generally seized upon by the more powerful persons and by those who had the means of hiring troops, and they could less easily effect this object under our dominion.

2. Alarmed by these tidings and letters, Cæsar levied two new legions in Hither Gaul, and, at the beginning of summer, sent Quintus Pedius, his lieutenant, to conduct them further into Gaul. He himself, as soon as there began to be plenty of forage, came to the army. He gives a commission to the Senŏnes and the other Gauls who were neighbors of the Belgæ, to learn what is going on among them and inform him of these matters. These all uniformly reported that troops were being raised, and that an army was being collected in one place. Then, indeed, he thought that he ought not to hesitate about proceeding toward them, and having provided supplies, moves his camp, and in about fifteen days arrives at the territories of Belgæ.

3. As he arrived there unexpectedly and sooner than any one anticipated, the Remi, who are the nearest of the Belgæ to Gaul, sent to him Iccius and Antebrogius, the principal persons of the state, as their ambassadors: to tell him that they surrendered themselves and all their possessions to the protection and disposal of the Roman people: and that they had neither combined with the rest of the Belgæ, nor entered into any confederacy against the Roman people: and were prepared to give hostages, to obey his commands, to receive him into their towns, and to aid him with corn and other things; that all the rest of the

juvare: reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse: Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolunt, sese cum his conjunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut, ne Suessiōnes quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et eisdem legibus utantur, unum imperium, unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint, quin cum his consentirent.

4. Quum ab his quaereret, quae civitates, quantaeque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germānis; Rhenumque antiquitus traductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse; solosque esse, qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutŏnes Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgārum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellŏvacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata millia centum: pollicitos ex eo numero electa millia sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiōnes suos esse finitimos; latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiācum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui quum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae, imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc, propter justitiam prudentiamque, summam totius belli omnium voluntate deferri: oppida habere numero duodecim, polliceri millia armata quinquaginta: totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur, longissimeque absint: quindecim millia Atrebātes: Ambiānos decem millia: Morĭnos viginti quinque millia: Menapios novem millia: Calētos decem millia: Velocasses et Veromanduos totidem: Aduatŭcos decem et novem millia: Condrūsos, Eburōnes, Caeraesos, Paemānos, qui uno nomine Germāni appellantur, arbitrari ad quadraginta millia.

5. Caesar, Remos cohortatus, liberaliterque oratione prosecutus, omnem senatum ad se convenire, principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiācum Aeduum magno opere cohortatus, docet, quanto

Belgæ were in arms; and that the Germans, who dwell on this side of the Rhine, had joined themselves to them; and that so great was the infatuation of them all, that they could not restrain even the Suessiones, their own brethren and kinsmen, who enjoy the same rights, and the same laws, and who have one government and one magistracy with themselves, from uniting with them.

4. When Cæsar inquired of them what states were in arms, how powerful they were, and what they could do in war, he received the following information: that the greater part of the Belgæ were sprung from the Germans, and that having crossed the Rhine at an early period, they had settled there, on account of the fertility of the country, and had driven out the Gauls who inhabited those regions; and that they were the only people who, in the memory of our fathers, when all Gaul was overrun, had prevented the Teutŏnes and the Cimbri from entering their territories; the effect of which was, that, from the recollection of those events, they assumed to themselves great authority and haughtiness in military matters. The Remi said, that they had known accurately every thing respecting their number, because being united to them by neighborhood and by alliances, they had learned what number each state had in the general council of the Belgæ promised for that war. That the Bellovăci were the most powerful among them in valor, influence, and the number of men; that these could muster 100,000 armed men, that they had promised 60,000 picked men out of that number, and demanded for themselves the command of the whole war. That the Suessiŏnes were their nearest neighbors and possessed a very extensive and fertile country; that among them, even in our own memory, Divitiacus, the most powerful man of all Gaul, had been king; who had held the government of a great part of these regions, as well as of Britain; that their king at present was Galba; that the direction of the whole war was conferred by the consent of all, upon him, on account of his integrity and prudence; that they had twelve towns; that they had promised 50,000 armed men; and that the Nervii, who are reckoned the most warlike among them, and are situated at a very great distance, [had promised] as many; the Atrebātes, 15,000; the Ambiani, 10,000; the Morĭni, 25,000; the Menapii, 9,000; the Calĕti, 10,000; the Velocasses and the Veromandui, as many; the Aduatūci, 19,000; that the Condrūsi, the Eburōnes, the Cæræsi, the Pæmāni, who are called by the common name of Germans [had promised], they thought, to the number of 40,000.

5. Cæsar, having encouraged the Remi, and addressed them courteously, ordered the whole senate to assemble before him, and the children of their chief men to be brought to him as hostages: all which commands they punctually performed by the day [appointed]. He, addressing himself to Divitiacus, the Æduan, with

opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit, manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Aedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint, et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis, eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgārum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab his, quos miserat, exploratoribus, et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axŏnam, quod est in extremis Remōrum finibus, exercitum traducere maturavit, atque ibi castra posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat, et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat, et commeatus ab Remis, reliquisque civitatibus, ut sine periculo ad eum portari posset, efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit; et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabīnum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit: castra in altitudinem pedum duodecim vallo, fossaque duodevingti pedum munire jubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remōrum, nomine Bibrax, aberat millia passuum octo. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. Gallōrum eadem, atque Belgārum, oppugnatio est haec. Ubi, circumjecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus, undique lapides in murum jaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est; testudine facta, portas succedunt, murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat: nam, quum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conjicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Quum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praeerat, unus ex his, qui legati de pace ad Caesărem venerant, nuncios ad eum mittit, Nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo de media nocte Caesar, iisdem ducibus usus, qui nuncii ab Iccio venerant, Numĭdas et Cretas sagittarios, et funditores Baleāres subsidio oppidanis mittit: quorum adventu et Remis, cum spe defensionis, studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque, paulisper apud oppidum morati, agrosque Remōrum depopulati, omnibus vicis aedificiisque, quos adire poterant, incensis, ad castra Caesăris omnibus

great earnestness, points out how much it concerns the republic and their common security, that the forces of the enemy should be divided, so that it might not be necessary to engage with so large a number at one time. That this might be effected if the Ædui would lead their forces into the territories of the Bellovăci, and begin to lay waste their country. With these instructions he dismissed him from his presence. After he perceived that all the forces of the Belgæ, which had been collected in one place, were approaching toward him, and learned from the scouts whom he had sent out, and from the Remi, that they were then not far distant, he hastened to lead his army over the Axona, which is on the borders of the Remi, and there pitched his camp. This position fortified one side of his camp by the banks of the river, rendered the country which lay in his rear secure from the enemy, and furthermore insured that provisions might without danger be brought to him by the Remi and the rest of the states. Over that river was a bridge: there he places a guard; and on the other side of the river he leaves Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, with six cohorts. He orders him to fortify a camp with a rampart twelve feet in height, and a trench eighteen feet in breadth.

6. There was a town of the Remi, by name Bibrax, eight miles distant from this camp. This the Belgæ on their march began to attack with great vigor. [The assault] was with difficulty sustained for that day. The Gauls' mode of besieging is the same as that of the Belgæ: when after having drawn a large number of men around the whole of the fortifications, stones have begun to be cast against the wall on all sides, and the wall has been stripped of its defenders, [then], forming a testudo, they advance to the gates and undermine the wall: which was easily effected on this occasion; for while so large a number were casting stones and darts, no one was able to maintain his position on the wall. When night had put an end to the assault, Iccius, who was then in command of the town, one of the Remi, a man of the highest rank and influence among his people, and one of those who had come to Cæsar as ambassador for peace, sends messengers to him, "That, unless assistance were sent to him he could not hold out any longer."

7. Thither, immediately after midnight, Cæsar, using as guides the same persons who had come to him as messengers from Iccius, sends some Numidian and Cretan archers, and some Baleărian slingers, as a relief to the towns-people, by whose arrival both a desire to resist together with the hope of defense, was infused into the Remi, and, for the same reason, the hope of gaining the town abandoned the enemy. Therefore, after staying a short time before the town, and laying waste the country of the Remi, when all the villages and buildings which they could approach had been burned, they hastened with all their forces to the camp of Cæsar,

copiis contenderunt; et ab millibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius millibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

8. Caesar primo, et propter multitudinem hostium, et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis, proelio supersedere statuit; quotidie tamen equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset, et quid nostri auderent, sollicitationibus periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo; (quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus, tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat, et frontem leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planitiem redibat) ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum quadringentorum; et ad extremas fossas castella constituit, ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, quum aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudine poterant, ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto, duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in castris relictis, ut, si qua opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes exspectabant: nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur, parati in armis erant. Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum nostrorum proelio, Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axŏnam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis, partem suarum copiarum transducere conati sunt; eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat Quintus Titurius legatus, expugnarent, pontemque interscinderent; si minus potuissent, agros Remōrum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. Caesar, certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numĭdas, funditores, sagittariosque pontem traducit atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi, magnum eorum numerum

and encamped within less than two miles [of it]; and their camp, as was indicated by the smoke and fires, extended more than eight miles in breadth.

8. Cæsar at first determined to decline a battle, as well on account of the great number of the enemy as their distinguished reputation for valor: daily, however, in cavalry actions, he strove to ascertain by frequent trials, what the enemy could effect by their prowess and what our men would dare. When he perceived that our men were not inferior, as the place before the camp was naturally convenient and suitable for marshaling an army (since the hill where the camp was pitched, rising gradually from the plain, extended forward in breadth as far as the space which the marshaled army could occupy, and had steep declines of its side in either direction, and gently sloping in front gradually sank to the plain); on either side of that hill he drew a cross trench of about four hundred paces, and at the extremities of that trench built forts, and placed there his military engines, lest, after he had marshaled his army, the enemy, since they were so powerful in point of number, should be able to surround his men in the flank, while fighting. After doing this, and leaving in the camp the two legions which he had last raised, that, if there should be any occasion, they might be brought as a reserve, he formed the other six legions in order of battle before the camp. The enemy, likewise, had drawn up their forces which they had brought out of the camp.

9. There was a marsh of no great extent between our army and that of the enemy. The latter were waiting to see if our men would pass this; our men, also, were ready in arms to attack them while disordered, if the first attempt to pass should be made by them. In the mean time battle was commenced between the two armies by a cavalry action. When neither army began to pass the marsh, Cæsar, upon the skirmishes of the horse [proving] favorable to our men, led back his forces into the camp. The enemy immediately hastened from that place to the river Axona, which it has been stated was behind our camp. Finding a ford there, they endeavored to lead a part of their forces over it; with the design that, if they could, they might carry by storm the fort which Quintus Titurius, Cæsar's lieutenant, commanded, and might cut off the bridge; but, if they could not do that, they should lay waste the lands of the Remi, which were of great use to us in carrying on the war, and might hinder our men from foraging.

10. Cæsar, being apprized of this by Titurius, leads all his cavalry and light-armed Numidians, slingers and archers, over the bridge, and hastens toward them. There was a severe struggle in that place. Our men, attacking in the river the disordered enemy,

occiderunt. Per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime transire conantes, multitudine telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos, interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando oppido, et de flumine transeundo, spem se fefellisse intellexerunt, neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato, constituerunt, optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti; ut, quorum in fines primum Romāni exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent; et potius in suis, quam in alienis finibus decertarent; et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam, cum reliquis causis, haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiācum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacōrum appropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi, ut diutius morarentur, neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

11. Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi, nullo certo ordine neque imperio, quum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita, insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce, confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatum, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, praemisit. His Quintum Pedium, et Lucium Aurunculēium Cottam legatos praefecit. Titum Labiēnum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. Hi, novissimos adorti et multa millia passuum prosecuti, magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, quum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consisterent, fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent; prioresque (quod abesse a periculo viderentur, neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur,) exaudito clamore, perturbatis ordinibus, omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium; sub occasumque solis destiterunt, seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessiōnum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit, et magno itinere confecto ad oppidum Noviodūnum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum

slew a great part of them. By the immense number of their missiles they drove back the rest, who, in a most courageous manner were attempting to pass over their bodies, and surrounded with their cavalry, and cut to pieces those who had first crossed the river. The enemy, when they perceived that their hopes had deceived them both with regard to their taking the town by storm and also their passing the river, and did not see our men advance to a more disadvantageous place for the purpose of fighting, and when provisions began to fail them, having called a council, determined that it was best for each to return to his country, and resolved to assemble from all quarters to defend those into whose territories the Romans should first march an army; that they might contend in their own rather than in a foreign country, and might enjoy the stores of provision which they possessed at home. Together with other causes, this consideration also led them to that resolution, that they had learned that Divitiacus and the Ædui were approaching the territories of the Bellovaci. And it was impossible to persuade the latter to stay any longer, or to deter them from conveying succor to their own people.

11. That matter being determined on, marching out of their camp at the second watch, with great noise and confusion, in no fixed order, nor under any command, since each sought for himself the foremost place in the journey, and hastened to reach home, they made their departure appear very like a flight. Cæsar, immediately learning this through his scouts, [but] fearing an ambuscade, because he had not yet discovered for what reason they were departing, kept his army and cavalry within the camp. At daybreak, the intelligence having been confirmed by the scouts, he sent forward his cavalry to harass their rear; and gave the command of it to two of his lieutenants, Quintus Pedius, and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta. He ordered Titus Labienus, another of his lieutenants, to follow them closely with three legions. These, attacking their rear, and pursuing them for many miles, slew a great number of them as they were fleeing; while those in the rear with whom they had come up, halted, and bravely sustained the attack of our soldiers; and the van (because they appeared to be removed from danger, and were not restrained by any necessity or command), as soon as the noise was heard, broke their ranks, and, to a man, rested their safety in flight. Thus without any risk our men killed as great a number of them as the length of the day allowed; and at sunset desisted from the pursuit, and betook themselves into the camp, as they had been commanded.

12. On the day following, before the enemy could recover from their terror and flight, Cæsar led his army into the territories of the Suessiones, which were next to the Remi, and having accomplished a long march, hastens to the town named Noviodunum. Having attempted to take it by storm on his march, because he

ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae, murique altitudinem, paucis defendentibus, expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis, vineas agere, quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant, comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessiōnum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere jacto, turribusque constitutis, magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanōrum permoti, legatos ad Caesărem de deditione mittunt; et, petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur, impetrant.

13. Caesar, obsidibus acceptis, primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiōnes accepit, exercitumque in Bellovăcos duxit. Qui quum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter millia passuum quinque abesset, omnes majores natu, ex oppido egressi, manus ad Caesărem tendere et voce significare coeperunt, sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire, neque contra Populum Romānum armis contendere. Item, quum ad oppidum accessisset, castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem a Romānis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiăcus (nam post discessum Belgārum, dimissis Aeduōrum copiis, ad eum reverterat) facit verba; Bellovăcos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Aeduae fuisse: impulsos a suis principibus, qui dicerent, Aeduos, a Caesăre in servitutem redactos, omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse, et Populo Romāno bellum intulisse: qui hujus consilii principes fuissent, quod intelligerent quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovăcos, sed etiam pro his Aeduos, ut sua clemēntia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Aeduōrum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum: quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.

15. Caesar honoris Divitiăci atque Aeduōrum causa, Sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum, dixit: sed, quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate, atque hominum multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. His traditis, omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianōrum pervenit,

heard that it was destitute of defenders, he was not able to carry it by assault, on account of the breadth of the ditch and the height of the wall, though few were defending it. Therefore, having fortified the camp, he began to bring up the vineæ, and to provide whatever things were necessary for the storm. In the mean time the whole body of the Suesiones, after their flight, came the next night into the town. The vineæ having been quickly brought up against the town, a mound thrown up, and towers built, the Gauls, amazed by the greatness of the works, such as they had neither seen nor heard of before, and struck also by the dispatch of the Romans, send ambassadors to Cæsar respecting a surrender, and succeed in consequence of the Remi requesting that they might be spared.

13. Cæsar, having received as hostages the first men of the state, and even the two sons of king Galba himself; and all the arms in the town having been delivered up, admitted the Suessiones to a surrender, and led his army against the Bellovaci. Who, when they had conveyed themselves and all their possessions into the town called Bratuspantium, and Cæsar with his army was about five miles distant from that town, all the old men, going out of the town, began to stretch out their hands to Cæsar, and to intimate by their voice that they would throw themselves on his protection and power, nor would contend in arms against the Roman people. In like manner, when he had come up to the town, and there pitched his camp, the boys and the women from the wall, with outstretched hands, after their custom, begged peace from the Romans.

14. For these Divitiacus pleads (for after the departure of the Belgæ, having dismissed the troops of the Ædui, he had returned to Cæsar). "The Bellovaci had at all times been in the alliance and friendship of the Æduan state; that they had revolted from the Ædui and made war upon the Roman people, being urged thereto by their nobles, who said that the Ædui, reduced to slavery by Cæsar, were suffering every indignity and insult. That they who had been the leaders of that plot, because they perceived how great a calamity they had brought upon the state, had fled into Britain. That not only the Bellovaci, but also the Ædui, in their behalf, entreated him to use his clemency and lenity toward them: which if he did, he would increase the influence of the Ædui among all the Belgæ, by whose succor and resources they had been accustomed to support themselves whenever any wars occurred.

15. Cæsar said that on account of his respect for Divitiacus and the Æduans, he would receive them into his protection, and would spare them; but, because the state was of great influence among the Belgæ, and pre-eminent in the number of its population, he demanded six hundred hostages. When these were delivered, and all the arms in the town collected, he went from that place into the territories of the Ambiăni, who, without delay, surrendered

qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant: quorum de natura moribusque Caesar quum quaereret, sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus; nihil pati vini, reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium, inferri, quod his rebus relanguescere animos et remitti virtutem existimarent: esse homines feros, magnaeque virtutis: increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se Populo Romāno dedidissent, patriamque virtutem projecissent: confirmare, sese neque legatos missuros, neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos.

16. Quum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis, Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius millia passuum decem abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse, adventumque ibi Romanōrum exspectare una cum Atrebatibus et Veromanduis, finitimis suis: (nam his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur) exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucōrum copias, atque esse in itinere: mulieres, quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur, in eum locum conjecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque praemittit, qui locum castris idoneum deligant. Quumque ex dedititiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesārem secuti una iter facerent: quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt, atque iis demonstrarunt, inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quidquam negotii, quum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri: qua pulsa, impedimentisque direptis, futurum, ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. Adjuvabat etiam eorum consilium, qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, quum equitatu nihil possent, (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed, quidquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis,) quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venisset, impedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis, crebris in latitudinem ramis et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant, ut instar muri hae sepes munimenta praeberent; quo non modo intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus quum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii aestimaverunt,

themselves and all their possessions. Upon their territories bordered the Nervii, concerning whose character and customs when Cæsar inquired he received the following information: — "That there was no access for merchants to them; that they suffered no wine and other things tending to luxury to be imported; because they thought that by their use the mind is enervated and the courage impaired: that they were a savage people and of great bravery: that they upbraided and condemned the rest of the Belgæ who had surrendered themselves to the Roman people and thrown aside their national courage: that they openly declared they would neither send ambassadors, nor accept any condition of peace."

16. After he had made three days' march through their territories, he discovered from some prisoners, that the river Sambre was not more than ten miles from his camp; that all the Nervii had stationed themselves on the other side of that river, and together with the Atrĕbātes and the Veromandui, their neighbors, were there awaiting the arrival of the Romans; for they had persuaded both these nations to try the same fortune of war; that the forces of the Aduatŭci were also expected by them, and were on their march; that they had put their women, and those who through age appeared useless for war, in a place to which there was no approach for an army, on account of the marshes.

17. Having learned these things, he sends forward scouts and centurions to choose a convenient place for the camp. And as a great many of the surrounding Belgæ and other Gauls, following Cæsar, marched with him; some of these, as was afterwards learned from the prisoners, having accurately observed, during those days, the army's method of marching, went by night to the Nervii, and informed them that a great number of baggage-trains passed between the several legions, and that there would be no difficulty, when the first legion had come into the camp, and the other legions were at a great distance, to attack that legion while under baggage, which being routed, and the baggage-train seized, it would come to pass that the other legions would not dare to stand their ground. It added weight also to the advice of those who reported that circumstance, that the Nervii, from early times, because they were weak in cavalry, (for not even at this time do they attend to it, but accomplish by their infantry whatever they can,) in order that they might the more easily obstruct the cavalry of their neighbors if they came upon them for the purpose of plundering, having cut young trees, and bent them, by means of their numerous branches [extending] on to the sides, and the quick-briars and thorns springing up between them, had made these hedges present a fortification like a wall, through which it was not only impossible to enter, but even to penetrate with the eye. Since the march of our army would be obstructed by these things, the Nervii thought that the advice ought not to be neglected by them.

18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis, ab summo aequaliter declivis, ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari acclivitate collis nascebatur, adversus huic et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos, infima apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas, hostes in occulto sese continebant: in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Caesar, equitatu praemisso, subsequebatur omnibus copiis: sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat, ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam, quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat: post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat: inde duae legiones, quae proxime conscriptae erant, totum agmen claudebant, praesidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri, cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi, cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. Quum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent, ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius, quam quem ad finem porrecta ac loca aperta pertinebant, cedentes insequi auderent: interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso, castra munire coeperunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his, qui in silvis abditi latebant, visa sunt, (quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat) ita, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant, atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt, impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac proturbatis, incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

20. Caesări omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne, quum ad arma concurri oporteret: signum tuba dandum: ab opere revocandi milites: qui paulo longius, aggeris petendi causa, processerant, arcessendi: acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum: quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas et successus et incursus hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, scientia atque usus

18. The nature of the ground which our men had chosen for the camp was this: A hill, declining evenly from the top, extending to the river Sambre, which we have mentioned above: from this river there arose a hill of like ascent, on the other side and opposite to the former, and open for about two hundred paces at the lower part; but in the upper part, woody, that it was not easy to see through it into the interior. Within these woods the enemy kept themselves in concealment; a few troops of horse-soldiers appeared on the open ground, along the river. The depth of the river was about three feet.

19. Cæsar, having sent his cavalry on before, followed close after them with all his forces; but the plan and order of the march was different from that which the Belgæ had reported to the Nervii. For as he was approaching the enemy, Cæsar, according to his custom, led on six legions unencumbered by baggage; behind them he had placed the baggage-trains of the whole army; then the two legions which had been last raised closed the rear, and were a guard for the baggage-train. Our horse, with the slingers and archers, having passed the river, commenced action with the cavalry of the enemy. While they from time to time betook themselves into the woods to their companions, and again made an assault out of the wood upon our men, who did not dare to follow them in their retreat further than the limit to which the plain and open parts extended, in the mean time the six legions which had arrived first, having measured out the work, began to fortify the camp. When the first part of the baggage-train of our army was seen by those who lay hid in the woods, (which had been agreed on among them as the time for commencing action,) as soon as they had arranged their line of battle and formed their ranks within the woods, and had encouraged one another, they rushed out suddenly with all their forces and made an attack upon our horse. The latter being easily routed and thrown into confusion, the Nervii ran down to the river with such incredible speed that they seemed to be in the woods, the river, and close upon us almost at the same time. And with the same speed they hastened up the hill to our camp, and to those who were employed in the works.

20. Cæsar had every thing to do at one time: the standard to be displayed, which was the sign when it was necessary to run to arms; the signal to be given by the trumpet; the soldiers to be called off from the works; those who had proceeded some distance for the purpose of seeking materials for the rampart, to be summoned; the order of battle to be formed; the soldiers to be encouraged; the watchword to be given. A great part of these arrangements was prevented by the shortness of time and the sudden approach and charge of the enemy. Under these difficulties two things proved of advantage: the skill and experience of

militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere, quam ab aliis doceri poterant; et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere, nisi munitis castris, vetuerat. Hi, propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium, nihil jam Caesăris imperium spectabant; sed per se, quae videbantur, administrabant.

21. Caesar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos milites, quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit et ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent, neu perturbarentur animo, hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant, quam quo telum adjici posset, proelii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus, pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas, hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas, scutisque tegmenta detrahenda, tempus defuerit. Quam quisque in partem ab opere casu devenit, quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne, in quaerendis suis, pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu magis ut loci natura, dejectusque collis, et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, quum, diversis legionibus, aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interjectis, prospectus impediretur: neque certa subsidia collocari, neque quid in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque, in tanta rerum iniquitate, fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis, cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebătes (nam his ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt; et transire conantes insecuti gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt; et, in locum iniquum progressi, rursus regressos ac resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam dederunt. Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. At tum totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, quum in

the soldiers, because, having been trained by former engagements, they could suggest to themselves what ought to be done, as conveniently as receive information from others; and that Cæsar had forbidden his several lieutenants to depart from the works and their respective legions, before the camp was fortified. These, on account of the near approach and the speed of the enemy, did not then wait for any command from Cæsar, but of themselves executed whatever appeared proper.

21. Cæsar, having given the necessary orders, hastened to and fro into whatever quarter fortune carried him, to animate the troops, and came to the tenth legion. Having encouraged the soldiers with no further speech than that "they should keep up the remembrance of their wonted valor, and not be confused in mind, but valiantly sustain the assault of the enemy"; as the latter were not further from them than the distance to which a dart could be cast, he gave the signal for commencing battle. And having gone to another quarter for the purpose of encouraging, he finds them fighting. Such was the shortness of the time, and so determined was the mind of the enemy on fighting, that time was wanting not only for affixing the military insignia, but even for putting on the helmets and drawing off the covers from the shields. To whatever part any one by chance came from the works, and whatever standards he saw first, at these he stood, lest in seeking his own company he should lose the time for fighting.

22. The army having been marshaled, rather as the nature of the ground and the declivity of the hill and the exigency of the time, than as the method and order of military matters required; while the legions in the different places were withstanding the enemy, some in one quarter, some in another, and the view was obstructed by the very thick hedges intervening, as we have before remarked, neither could proper reserves be posted, nor could the necessary measures be taken in each part, nor could all the commands be issued by one person. Therefore, in such an unfavorable state of affairs, various events of fortune followed.

23. The soldiers of the ninth and tenth legions, as they had been stationed on the left part of the army, casting their weapons, speedily drove the Atrĕbātes (for that division had been opposed to them,) who were breathless with running and fatigue, and worn out with wounds, from the higher ground into the river; and following them as they were endeavoring to pass it, slew with their swords a great part of them while impeded. They themselves did not hesitate to pass the river; and having advanced to a disadvantageous place, when the battle was renewed, they again put to flight the enemy, who had returned and were opposing them. In like manner, in another quarter two different legions, the eleventh and the eighth, having routed the Veromandui, with whom they had engaged, were fighting from the higher ground upon the very banks of the river. But, almost the whole camp on the front and

dextro cornu legio duodecima, et, non magno ab ea intervallo, septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine, duce Boduognāto, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt: quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere, coepit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri, levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, quum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant: et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo jugo collis nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, quum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant. Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Trevĭri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui, auxilii causa ab civitate missi, ad Caesărem venerant, quum multitudine hostium castra nóstra compleri, legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numĭdas, diversos dissipatosque, in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus, domum contenderunt: Romānos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos, civitati renunciaverunt.

25. Caesar, ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri, signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento; quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis, signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis, aut occisis, in his primopilo, Publio Sextio Bacŭlo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut jam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis desertos proelio excedere ac tela vitare; hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere, et ab utroque latere instare; et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium, quod submitti posset: scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit, centurionibusque nominatim appellatis, reliquos cohortatus milites, signa

on the left side being then exposed, since the twelfth legion was posted in the right wing, and the seventh at no great distance from it, all the Nervii, in a very close body, with Boduognatus, who held the chief command, as their leader, hastened toward that place; and part of them began to surround the legions on their unprotected flank, part to make for the highest point of the encampment.

24. At the same time our horsemen, and light-armed infantry, who had been with those, who, as I have related, were routed by the first assault of the enemy, as they were betaking themselves into the camp, met the enemy face to face, and again sought flight into another quarter; and the camp-followers who from the Decuman Gate, and from the highest ridge of the hill had seen our men pass the river as victors, when, after going out for the purposes of plundering, they looked back and saw the enemy parading in our camp, committed themselves precipitately to flight; at the same time there arose the cry and shout of those who came with the baggage-train: and they affrighted were carried some one way, some another. By all these circumstances the cavalry of the Treviri were much alarmed, (whose reputation for courage is extraordinary among the Gauls, and who had come to Cæsar, being sent by their state as auxiliaries), and, when they saw our camp filled with a large number of the enemy, the legions hard pressed and almost held surrounded, the camp-retainers, horsemen, slingers, and Numidians fleeing on all sides divided and scattered, they, despairing of our affairs, hastened home, and related to their state that the Romans were routed and conquered, [and] that the enemy were in possession of their camp and baggage-train.

25. Cæsar proceeded, after encouraging the tenth legion, to the right wing; where he perceived that his men were hard pressed, and that in consequence of the standards of the twelfth legion being collected together in one place, the crowded soldiers were a hindrance to themselves in the fight; that all the centurions of the fourth cohort were slain, and the standard-bearer killed, the standard itself lost, almost all the centurions of the other cohorts either wounded or slain, and among them the chief centurion of the legion Publius Sextius Baculus, a very valiant man, who was so exhausted by many and severe wounds, that he was already unable to support himself; he likewise perceived that the rest were slackening their efforts, and that some, deserted by those in the rear, were retiring from the battle and avoiding the weapons; that the enemy though advancing from the lower ground, were not relaxing in front, and were pressing hard on both flanks; he also perceived that the affair was at a crisis, and that there was not any reserve which could be brought up; having therefore snatched a shield from one of the soldiers in the rear (for he himself had come without a shield), he advanced to the front of the line, and addressing

inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cujus adventu spe illata militibus, ac redintegrato animo, quum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris, etiam in extremis suis rebus, operam navare cuperent, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Caesar, quum septimam legionem, quae juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones conjungerent, et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto, quum alius alii subsidium ferrent, neque timerent, ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nunciato, cursu incitato, in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur. Et Titus Labienus, castris hostium potitus, et ex loco superiore, quae res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus, decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui, quum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi, proelium redintegrarent; tum calones, perterritos hostes conspicati, etiam inermes armatis occurrerent; equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnae se legionariis militibus praeferrent. At hostes, etiam in extrema spe salutis, tantam virtutem praestiterunt, ut, quum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent, atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his dejectis et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, ut ex tumulo, tela in nostros conjicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequidquam tantae virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum: quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

28. Hoc proelio facto, et prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviōrum redacto, majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes collectos dixeramus, hac pugna

the centurions by name, and encouraging the rest of the soldiers, he ordered them to carry forward the standards, and extend the companies, that they might the more easily use their swords. On his arrival, as hope was brought to the soldiers and their courage restored, while every one for his own part, in the sight of his general, desired to exert his utmost energy, the impetuosity of the enemy was a little checked.

26. Cæsar, when he perceived that the seventh legion, which stood close by him, was also hard pressed by the enemy, directed the tribunes of the soldiers to effect a junction of the legions gradually, and make their charge upon the enemy with a double front; which having been done, since they brought assistance the one to the other, nor feared lest their rear should be surrounded by the enemy, they began to stand their ground more boldly, and to fight more courageously. In the mean time, the soldiers of the two legions which had been in the rear of the army, as a guard for the baggage-train, upon the battle being reported to them, quickened their pace, and were seen by the enemy on the top of the hill; and Titus Labienus, having gained possession of the camp of the enemy, and observed from the higher ground what was going on in our camp, sent the tenth legion as a relief to our men, who, when they had learned from the flight of the horse and the sutlers in what position the affair was, and in how great danger the camp and the legion and the commander were involved, left undone nothing [which tended] to dispatch.

27. By their arrival, so great a change of matters was made, that our men, even those who had fallen down exhausted with wounds, leaned on their shields, and renewed the fight: then the camp-retainers, though unarmed, seeing the enemy completely dismayed, attacked [them though] armed; the horsemen too, that they might by their valor blot the disgrace of their flight, thrust themselves before the legionary soldiers in all parts of the battle. But the enemy, even in the last hope of safety, displayed such great courage, that when the foremost of them had fallen, the next stood upon them prostrate, and fought from their bodies; when these were overthrown, and their corpses heaped up together, those who survived cast their weapons against our men [thence], as from a mound, and returned our darts which had fallen short between [the armies]; so that it ought not to be concluded, that men of such great courage had injudiciously dared to pass a very broad river, ascend very high banks, and come up to a very disadvantageous place; since their greatness of spirit had rendered these actions easy, although in themselves very difficult.

28. This battle being ended, and the nation and name of the Nervii being almost reduced to annihilation, their old men, whom together with the boys and women we have stated to have been collected together in the fenny places and marshes, on this battle

nunciata, quum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui supererant, consensu legatos ad Caesărem miserunt, seque ei dediderunt; et, in commemoranda civitatis calamitate, ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus sexaginta vix ad quingentos qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit; suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit, ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29. Aduatŭci, de quibus supra scripsimus, quum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nunciata, ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis, sua omnia in unum oppidum, egregie natura munitum, contulerunt. Quod quum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus, in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum, relinquebatur: quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant; tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro collocarant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutŏnisque prognati; qui, quum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiae ex suis ac praesidio sex millia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi, post eorum obitum, multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac, primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant, parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant: postea, vallo pedum duodecim, in circuitu quindecim millium, crebrisque castellis circummuniti, oppido sese continebant. Ubi, vineis actis, aggere exstructo, turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus, aut quibus viribus, praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis, prae magnitudine corporum suorum, brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muros sese collocare confiderent?

having been reported to them, since they were convinced that nothing was an obstacle to the conquerors, and nothing safe to the conquered, sent ambassadors to Cæsar by the consent of all who remained, and surrendered themselves to him; and in recounting the calamity of their state, said that their senators were reduced from six hundred to three; that from sixty thousand men they [were reduced] to scarcely five hundred who could bear arms; whom Cæsar, that he might appear to use compassion toward the wretched and the suppliant, most carefully spared; and ordered them to enjoy their own territories and towns, and commanded their neighbors that they should restrain themselves and their dependents from offering injury or outrage.

29. When the Aduatuci, of whom we have written above, were coming up with all their forces to the assistance of the Nervii, upon this battle being reported to them, they returned home after they were on the march; deserting all their towns and forts, they conveyed together all their possessions into one town, eminently fortified by nature. While this town had on all sides around it very high rocks and precipices, there was left on one side a gently ascending approach, of not more than two hundred feet in width; which place they had fortified with a very lofty double wall: besides, they had placed stones of great weight and sharpened stakes upon the walls. They were descended from the Cimbri and Teutones, who, when they were marching into our province and Italy, having deposited on this side the river Rhine such of their baggage-trains as they could not drive or convey with them, left six thousand of their men as a guard and defense for them. These having, after the destruction of their countrymen, been harassed for many years by their neighbors, while one time they waged war offensively, and at another resisted it when waged against them, concluded a peace with the consent of all, and chose this place as their settlement.

30. And on the first arrival of our army they made frequent sallies from the town, and contended with our men in trifling skirmishes; afterward, when hemmed in by a rampart of twelve feet in height, and fifteen miles in circuit, and by frequent redoubts, they kept themselves within the town. When, vineæ having been brought up and a mound raised, they observed that a tower also was being built at a distance, they at first began to mock the Romans from their wall, and to taunt them with the following speeches: "For what purpose was so vast a machine constructed at so great a distance? With what hands," or "with what strength did they, especially men of such very small stature" (for our shortness of stature, in comparison to the great size of their bodies, is generally a subject of much contempt to the men of Gaul) "trust to place against their walls a tower of such great weight?"

31. Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti, legatos ad Caesărem de pace miserunt, qui, ad hunc modum locuti: Non se existimare, Romānos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere [et ex propinquitate pugnare] possent: se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere, dixerunt. Unum petere, ac deprecari: si forte, pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset, Aduatŭcos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret: sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere, traditis armis, non possent: sibi praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a Populo Romāno pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuessent.

32. Ad haec Caesar respondit. Se magis consuetudine sua, quam merito eorum, civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se dedidissent; sed deditionis nullam esse conditionem, nisi armis traditis: se id, quod in Nerviis fecisset, facturum, finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dedititiis Populi Romāni injuriam inferrent. Re nunciata ad suos, quae imperarentur, facere dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat ante oppidum, jacta, sic ut prope summam muri aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent; et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

33. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito, ut intellectum est, consilio, quod, deditione facta, nostros praesidia deducturos, aut denique indiligentius servaturos crediderant, partim cum his, quae retinuerant et celaverant, armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis, aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repente ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter, ut a viris fortibus, in extrema spe salutis, iniquo loco,

31. But when they saw that it was being moved, and was approaching their walls, startled by the new and unaccustomed sight, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar about peace; who spoke in the following manner: "That they did not believe the Romans waged war without divine aid, since they were able to move forward machines of such a height with so great speed, and thus fight from close quarters; that they resigned themselves and all their possessions to [Cæsar's] disposal: that they begged and earnestly entreated one thing, that if perchance, agreeable to his clemency and humanity, which they had heard of from others, he should resolve that the Aduatuci were to be spared, he would not deprive them of their arms; that almost all their neighbors were enemies to them and envied their courage, from whom they could not defend themselves if their arms were delivered up: that it was better for them, if they should be reduced to that state, to suffer any fate from the Roman people, than to be tortured to death by those among whom they had been accustomed to rule."

32. To these things Cæsar replied, "That he, in accordance with his custom, rather than owing to their desert, should spare the state, if they should surrender themselves before the battering-ram should touch the wall; but that there was no condition of surrender, except upon their arms being delivered up; that he should do to them that which he had done in the case of the Nervii, and would command their neighbors not to offer any injury to those who had surrendered to the Roman people." The matter being reported to their countrymen, they said that they would execute his commands. Having cast a very large quantity of their arms from the wall into the trench that was before the town, so that the heaps of arms almost equalled the top of the wall and the rampart, and nevertheless having retained and concealed, as we afterward discovered, about a third part in the town, the gates were opened, and they enjoyed peace for that day.

33. Toward evening Cæsar ordered the gates to be shut, and the soldiers to go out of the town, lest the towns-people should receive any injury from them by night. They, by a design before entered into, as we afterwards understood, because they believed that, as a surrender had been made, our men would dismiss their guards, or at least would keep watch less carefully, partly with those arms which they had retained and concealed, partly with shields made of bark or interwoven wickers, which they had hastily covered over with skins, (as the shortness of time required) in the third watch, suddenly made a sally from the town with all their forces [in that direction] in which the ascent to our fortifications seemed the least difficult. The signal having been immediately given by fires, as Cæsar had previously commanded, a rush was made thither from the nearest fort; and the battle was fought by the enemy as vigorously as it ought to be fought by brave men, in the last hope of

contra eos, qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent, pugnari debuit, quum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. Occisis ad hominum millibus quatuor, reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei, refractis portis, quum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus nostris, sectionem ejus oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab his, qui emerant, capitum numerus ad eum relatus est millium quinquaginta trium.

34. Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venĕtos, Unellos, Osismios, Curiosolitas, Sesuvios, Aulercos, Rhedŏnes, quae sunt maritimae civitates, oceănumque attingunt, certior factus est, omnes eas civitates in ditionem potestatemque Populi Romāni esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis, omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab his nationibus, quae trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad Caesărem, quae se obsides daturas, imperata facturas, pollicerentur: quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyrĭcumque properabat, inita proxima aestate, ad se reverti jussit. Ipse in Carnūtes, Andes, Turŏnesque, quae civitates propinquae his locis erant ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna deductis, in Italiam profectus est; ob easque res, ex literis Caesăris, dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

safety, in a disadvantageous place, and against those who were throwing their weapons from a rampart and from towers; since all hope of safety depended on their courage alone. About four thousand of the men having been slain, the rest were forced back into the town. The day after, Cæsar, after breaking open the gates, which there was no one then to defend, and sending in our soldiers, sold the whole spoil of that town. The number of 53,000 persons was reported to him by those who had bought them.

34. At the same time he was informed by Publius Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion against the Venĕti, the Unelli, the Osismii, the Curiosolitæ, the Sesuvii, the Aulerci, and the Rhedŏnes, which are maritime states, and touch upon the ocean, that all these nations were brought under the dominion and power of the Roman people.

35. These things being achieved, all Gaul being subdued, so high an opinion of this war was spread among the barbarians, that ambassadors were sent to Cæsar by those nations who dwelt beyond the Rhine, to promise that they would give hostages and execute his commands. Which embassies Cæsar, because he was hastening into Italy and Illyricum, ordered to return to him at the beginning of the following summer. He himself, having led his legions into winter quarters among the Carnutes, the Andes, and the Turŏnes, which states were close to those regions in which he had waged war, set out for Italy; and a thanksgiving of fifteen days was decreed for those achievements, upon receiving Cæsar's letter; which before that time had been conferred on none.

BOOK THIRD.

SYNOPSIS.

In the first seven chapters of this book we have an account of the subjugation, by Servius Galba, lieutenant, after several successful battles, of certain nations dwelling between the Alps and the Rhone, and the heavy slaughter with which he visited the rebellious Seduni and Veragri.

At the same time, both the Veneti, Unelli, and Curiosolitæ, and other nations in Celtic Gaul, near the Ocean, revolt.

Having waged war for a long time, but to no purpose, with the Veneti on land, Cæsar at length conquers them in a naval battle; while, in the mean time, the lieutenants, also, Quintus Titurius, successfully carries on a war with the Unelli, and Publius Crassus with many of the nations of Aquitania.

Cæsar, having attacked the Morini and Menapii, afterwards, on account of the season of the year, leads his army into winter quarters.

C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER III.

1. Quum in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus, in Nantuātes, Verāgros, Sedūnosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrŏgum, et lacu Lemanno, et flumine Rhodăno ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in eis locis legionem, hiemandi causa, collocaret. Galba, secundis aliquot proeliis factis, castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis, obsidibusque datis, et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatībus collocare, et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrōrum, qui appellatur Octodūrus, hiemare: qui vicus, positus in valle, non magna adjecta planitie, altissimis montibus undique continetur. Quum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis concessit; alteram, vacuam ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Quum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est, ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunōrum et Veragrōrum teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent: primum, quod legionem, neque eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus, et compluribus singillatim, qui, commeatus petendi causa missi erant, absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant: tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci, quum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant; et Romānos, non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae possessionis, culmina Alpium occupare conari, et ea loca finitimae provinciae adjungere, sibi persuasum habebant.

THE

COMMENTARIES OF C. JULIUS CÆSAR

ON THE GALLIC WAR.

BOOK III.

1. When Cæsar was setting out for Italy, he sent Servius Galba with the twelfth legion and part of the cavalry, against the Nantuātes, the Veragri, and Sedūni, who extend from the territories of the Allobroges, and lake Geneva, and the River Rhone to the top of the Alps. The reason for sending him was, that he desired that the pass along the Alps, through which merchants had been accustomed to travel with great danger, and under great imposts, should be opened. He permitted him, if he thought it necessary, to station the legion in these places, for the purpose of wintering. Galba having fought some successful battles and stormed several of their forts, upon ambassadors being sent to him from all parts and hostages given and a peace concluded, determined to station two cohorts among the Nantuātes, and to winter in person with the other cohorts of that legion in a village of the Veragri, which is called Octodūrus; and this village being situated in a valley, with a small plain annexed to it, is bounded on all sides by very high mountains. As this village was divided into two parts by a river, he granted one part of it to the Gauls, and assigned the other, which had been left by them unoccupied, to the cohorts to winter in. He fortified this part with a rampart and a ditch.

2. When several days had elapsed in winter quarters, and he had ordered corn to be brought in he was suddenly informed by his scouts that all the people had gone off in the night from that part of the town which he had given up to the Gauls, and that the mountains which hung over it were occupied by a very large force of the Sedūni and Veragri. It had happened for several reasons that the Gauls suddenly formed the design of renewing the war and cutting off that legion. First, because they despised a single legion, on account of its small number, and that not quite full (two cohorts having been detached, and several individuals being absent, who had been dispatched for the purpose of seeking provision); then, likewise, because they thought that on account of the disadvantageous character of the situation, even their first attack could not be sustained when they would rush from the mountains into the valley, and discharge their weapons upon us. To this was added, that they were indignant that their children were torn from them under the title of hostages, and they were persuaded that the Romans designed to seize upon the summits of the Alps, and unite those parts to the neighboring province, not only to secure the passes, but also a constant possession.

3. His nunciis acceptis, Galba, quum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod, deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis, nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato, sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, quum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri, neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope jam desperata salute, nonnullae hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut, impedimentis relictis, eruptione facta, iisdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. Majori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato ad extremum consilio, interim rei eventum experiri, et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut his rebus, quas constituissent, collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus, signo dato, decurrere, lapides gaesaque in vallum conjicere: nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare, neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere: ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre: sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris, propter paucitatem, fieri nihil poterat; ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi, ac sui recipiendi facultas debatur.

5. Quum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires sed etiam tela nostris deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent, languidioribusque nostris, vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum, Publius Sextius Baculus, primipili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item Cāius Volusēnus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt, atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si, eruptione facta, extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque, convocatis centurionibus, celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent proelium, ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent,

3. Having received these tidings, Galba, since the works of the winter quarters and the fortifications were not fully completed, nor was sufficient preparation made with regard to corn and other provisions (since, as a surrender had been made, and hostages received, he had thought he need entertain no apprehension of war), speedily summoning a council, began to anxiously inquire their opinions. In which council, since so much sudden danger had happened contrary to the general expectation, and almost all the higher places were seen already covered with a multitude of armed men, nor could troops come to their relief, or provisions be brought in, as the passes were blocked up; safety being now nearly despaired of, some opinions of this sort were delivered: that, "leaving their baggage, and making a sally, they should hasten away for safety by the same routes by which they had come thither." To the greater part, however, it seemed best, reserving that measure to the last, to await the issue of the matter, and to defend the camp.

4. A short time having elapsed, so that time was scarcely given for arranging and executing those things which they had determined on, the enemy, upon the signal being given, rushed down from all parts, and discharged stones and darts upon our rampart. Our men at first, while their strength was fresh, resisted bravely, nor did they cast any weapon ineffectually from their higher station. As soon as any part of the camp, being destitute of defenders, seemed to be hard pressed, thither they ran, and brought assistance. But they were over-matched in this, that the enemy when wearied by the long continuance of the battle, went out of the action, and others with fresh strength came in their place; none of which things could be done by our men, owing to the smallness of their number; and not only was permission not given to the wearied [Roman] to retire from the fight, but not even to the wounded to quit the post where he had been stationed, and recover.

5. When they had now been fighting for more than six hours, without cessation, and not only strength, but even weapons were failing our men, and the enemy were pressing on more rigorously, and had begun to demolish the rampart and to fill up the trench, while our men were becoming exhausted, and the matter was now brought to the last extremity, Publius Sextius Baculus, a centurion of the first rank, whom we have related to have been disabled by severe wounds in the engagement with the Nervii, and also Cāius Volusenus, a tribune of the soldiers, a man of great skill and valor, hasten to Galba, and assure him that the only hope of safety lay in making a sally, and trying the last resource. Whereupon assembling the centurions, he quickly gives orders to the soldiers to discontinue the fight a short time, and only collect the weapons flung, and recruit themselves after their fatigue, and afterward,

seque ex labore reficerent: post, dato signo, ex castris erumperent, atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

6. Quod jussi sunt, faciunt; ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta, neque cognoscendi quid fieret, neque sui colligendi, hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna, eos, qui in spem potiendorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos interficiunt; et ex hominum millibus amplius triginta, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta, reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt, ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic, omnibus hostium copiis fusis, armisque exutis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam tentare Galba nolebat, atque alio sese in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus, postero die omnibus ejus vici aedificiis incensis, in Provinciam reverti contendit: ac, nullo hoste prohibente, aut iter demorante, incolumem legionem in Nantuātes, inde in Allobrŏgas perduxit, ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, quum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germānis, victis in Alpĭbus Sedūnis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyrĭcum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire, et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli haec fuit causa: Publius Crassus adolescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceānum in Andĭbus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos, tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates frumenti commeatusque petendi causa dimisit: quo in numero erat Titus Terrasidius, missus in Esubios; Marcus Trebius Gallus, in Curiosolītas; Quintus Velanius, cum Tito Silio, in Venĕtos.

8. Hujus civitatis est longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Venĕti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt; et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et in magno impetu maris atque aperto, paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. Ab iis fuit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides,

upon the signal being given, sally forth from the camp, and place in their valor all their hope of safety.

6. They do what they were ordered; and, making a sudden sally from all the gates, leave the enemy the means neither of knowing what was taking place, nor of collecting themselves. Fortune thus taking a turn, [our men] surround on every side, and slay those who had entertained the hope of gaining the camp, and having killed more than the third part of an army of more than thirty thousand men (which number of the barbarians it appeared certain had come up to our camp), put to flight the rest when panic-stricken, and do not suffer them to halt even upon the higher grounds. All the forces of the enemy being thus routed, and stripped of their arms, [our men] betake themselves to their camp and fortifications. Which battle being finished, inasmuch as Galba was unwilling to tempt fortune again, and remembered that he had come into winter quarters with one design, and saw that he had met with a different state of affairs; chiefly however urged by the want of corn and provision, having the next day burned all the buildings of that village, he hastens to return into the province; and as no enemy opposed or hindered his march, he brought the legion safe into the Nantuātes, thence into the Allobroges, and there wintered.

7. These things being achieved, while Cæsar had every reason to suppose that Gaul was reduced to a state of tranquillity, the Belgæ being overcome, the Germans expelled, the Sedūni among the Alps defeated, and when he had, therefore, in the beginning of winter, set out for Illyricum, as he wished to visit those nations, and acquire a knowledge of their countries, a sudden war sprang up in Gaul. The occasion of that war was this: Publius Crassus, a young man, had taken up his winter quarters with the seventh legion among the Andes, who border upon the ocean. He, as there was a scarcity of corn in those parts, sent out some officers of cavalry, and several military tribunes among the neighboring states, for the purpose of procuring corn and provision; in which number Titus Terrasidius was sent among the Esubii; Marcus Trebius Gallus among the Curiosolitæ; Quintus Velanius, with Titus Silius, amongst the Venĕti.

8. The influence of this state is by far the most considerable of any of the countries on the whole sea coast, because the Venĕti both have a very great number of ships, with which they have been accustomed to sail to Britain, and excel the rest in their knowledge and experience of nautical affairs; and as only a few ports lie scattered along that stormy and open sea, of which they are in possession, they hold as tributaries almost all those who are accustomed to traffic in that sea. With them arose the beginning [of the revolt] by their detaining Silius and Velanius; for they thought that they should recover by their means the hostages which

quos Crasso dedissent, recuperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti, (ut sunt Gallōrum subita et repentina consilia,) eadem de causa Trebium, Terrasidiumque retinent; et, celeriter missis legatis, per suos principes inter se conjurant, nihil, nisi communi consilio, acturos, eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos: reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a majoribus acceperant, permanere, quam Romanōrum servitutem perferre mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad Publium Crassum mittunt, Si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligĕri, quod influit in oceănum, remiges ex Provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, quum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Venĕti, reliquaeque item civitates, cognito Caesăris adventu, simul quod, quantum in se facinus admisissent, intelligebant, (legatos, quod nomen apud omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se et in vincula conjectos) pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime ea, quae ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituunt; hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant: neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse, confidebant: ac jam, ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse: Romānos neque ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulasque novisse: ac longe aliam esse navagationem in concluso mari, atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceăno, perspiciebant. His initis consiliis, oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant; naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesărem primum bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexovios, Nannētes, Ambiliātos, Morĭnos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita est, arcessunt.

10. Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus; sed multa Caesărem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: injuriae reten-

they had given to Crassus. The neighboring people led on by their influence (as the measures of the Gauls are sudden and hasty), detain Trebius and Terrasidius for the same motive; and quickly sending ambassadors, by means of their leading men, they enter into a mutual compact to do nothing except by general consent, and abide the same issue of fortune; and they solicit the other states to choose rather to continue in that liberty which they had received from their ancestors, than endure slavery under the Romans. All the sea coast being quickly brought over to their sentiments, they send a common embassy to Publius Crassus, "If he wished to receive back his officers, let him send back to them their hostages."

9. Cæsar, being informed of these things by Crassus, since he was so far distant himself, orders ships of war to be built in the mean time on the river Loire, which flows into the ocean; rowers to be raised from the province; sailors and pilots to be provided. These matters being quickly executed, he himself, as soon as the season of the year permits, hastens to the army. The Veneti, and the other states also, being informed of Cæsar's arrival, when they reflected how great a crime they had committed, in that, the ambassadors (a character which had among all nations ever been sacred and inviolable) had by them been detained and thrown into prison, resolve to prepare for a war in proportion to the greatness of their danger, and especially to provide those things which appertain to the service of a navy, with the greater confidence, inasmuch as they greatly relied on the nature of their situation. They knew that the passes by land were cut off by estuaries, that the approach by sea was most difficult, by reason of our ignorance of the localities, [and] the small number of the harbors, and they trusted that our army would not be able to stay very long among them, on account of the insufficiency of corn; and again, even if all these things should turn out contrary to their expectation, yet they were very powerful in their navy. They well understood that the Romans neither had any number of ships, nor were acquainted with the shallows, the harbors, or the islands of those parts where they would have to carry on the war; and the navigation was very different in a narrow sea from what it was in the vast and open ocean. Having come to this resolution, they fortify their towns, convey corn into them from the country parts, bring together as many ships as possible to Venetia, where it appeared Cæsar would at first carry on the war. They unite to themselves as allies for that war, the Osismii, the Lexovii, the Nannētes, the Ambiliati, the Morĭni, the Diablintes, and the Menapii; and send for auxiliaries from Britain, which is situated over against those regions.

10. There were these difficulties which we have mentioned above, in carrying on the war, but many things, nevertheless,

torum equitum Romanōrum; rebellio facta post deditionem; defectio datis obsidibus; tot civitatum conjuratio; in primis, ne, hac parte neglecta, reliquae nationes idem sibi licere arbitrarentur. Itaque quum intelligeret, omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere, et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari; omnes autem homines natura libertati studere, et conditionem servitutis odisse, prius quam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque Titum Labienum legatum in Trevīros, qui proximi Rheno flumini sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat, atque in officio contineat; Germānosque, qui auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat. Publium Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur, ac tantae nationes conjungantur. Quintum Titurium Sabīnum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolītas, Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum distinendam curet. Decĭmum Brutum adolescentem classi Gallĭcisque navibus, quas ex Pictonĭbus et Santŏnis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, praeficit; et, quum primum possit, in Venĕtos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut, posita extremis lingulis promontoriisque, neque pedibus aditum haberent, quum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum viginti quatuor spatio; neque navibus, quod, rursus minuente aestu, naves in vadis afflictarentur. Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac, si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his ferme oppidi mœnibus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium appulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia, seque in proxima oppida recipiebant. Ibi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi.

urged Cæsar to that war; — the open insult offered to the state in the detention of the Roman knights, the rebellion raised after surrendering, the revolt after hostages were given, the confederacy of so many states, but principally, lest if, this part was overlooked, the other nations should think that the same thing was permitted them. Wherefore, since he reflected that almost all the Gauls were fond of revolution, and easily and quickly excited to war; that all men likewise, by nature, love liberty and hate the condition of slavery, he thought he ought to divide and more widely distribute his army, before more states should join the confederation.

11. He therefore sends Titus Labienus, his lieutenant, with the cavalry to the Treviri, who are nearest to the river Rhine. He charges him to visit the Remi and the other Belgians, and to keep them in their allegiance and repel the Germans (who were said to have been summoned by the Belgæ to their aid), if they attempted to cross the river by force in their ships. He orders Publius Crassus to proceed into Aquitania with twelve legionary cohorts and a great number of the cavalry, lest auxiliaries should be sent into Gaul by these states, and such great nations be united. He sends Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, with three legions, among the Unelli, the Curiosolītæ, and the Lexovii, to take care that their forces should be kept separate from the rest. He appoints Decimus Brutus, a young man, over the fleet and those Gallic vessels which he had ordered to be furnished by the Pictŏnes and the Santŏni, and the other provinces which remained at peace; and commands him to proceed toward the Venĕti, as soon as he could. He himself hastens thither with the land forces.

12. The sites of their towns were generally such that, being placed on extreme points and on promontories, they neither had an approach by land when the tide had rushed in from the main ocean, which always happens twice in the space of twenty-four hours; nor by ships, because, upon the tide ebbing again, the ships were likely to be dashed upon the shoals. Thus, by either circumstance, was the storming of their towns rendered difficult; and if at any time perchance the Venĕti overpowered by the greatness of our works (the sea having been excluded by a mound and large dams, and the latter being made almost equal in height to the walls of the town), had begun to despair of their fortunes; bringing up a large number of ships, of which they had a very great quantity, they carried off all their property and betook themselves to the nearest towns; there they again defended themselves by the same advantages of situation. They did this the more easily during a great part of the summer, because our ships were kept back by storms, and the difficulty of sailing was very great in that vast and open sea, with its strong tides and its harbors far apart and exceedingly few in number.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant. Carinae aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent: prorae admodum erectae, atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore, ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam: transtra pedalibus in latitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis, digiti pollicis crassitudine: anchorae, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctae: pelles pro velis, alutaeque tenuiter confectae: hae sive propter lini inopiam, atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceăni, tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri, ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret; reliqua, pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora: neque enim his nostrae rostro nocere poterant: (tanta in eis erat firmitudo): neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur; et eadem de causa minus commode scopulis continebantur. Accedebat, ut quum saevire ventus coepisset, et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius, et in vadis consisterent tutius, et, ab aestu derelictae, nihil saxa et cautes timerent: quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erant extimescendi.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Caesar, ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi, neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi, neque his noceri posse, statuit exspectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit, ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter ducentae et viginti naves eorum paratissimae, atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae, profectae ex portu, nostris adversae constiterunt: neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant attributae, constabat quid agerent, aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis, tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adjici possent, et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris, falces praeacutae, insertae affixaeque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. His quum funes, qui antennas

13. For their ships were built and equipped after this manner. The keels were somewhat flatter than those of our ships, whereby they could more easily encounter the shallows and the ebbing of the tide: the prows were raised very high, and, in like manner the sterns were adapted to the force of the waves and storms. The ships were built wholly of oak, and designed to endure any force and violence whatever; the benches, which were made of planks a foot in breadth, were fastened by iron spikes of the thickness of a man's thumb; the anchors were secured fast by iron chains instead of cables, and for sails they used skins and thin dressed leather. These [were used] either through their want of canvas and their ignorance of its application, or for this reason, which is more probable, that they thought that such storms of the ocean, and such violent gales of wind could not be resisted by sails, nor ships of such great burden be conveniently enough managed by them. The encounter of our fleet with these ships was of such a nature that our fleet excelled in speed alone, and the plying of the oars; other things, considering the nature of the place, the violence of the storms, were more suitable and better adapted on their side; for neither could our ships injure theirs with their beaks (so great was their strength), nor on account of their height was a weapon easily cast up to them; and for the same reason they were less readily locked in by rocks. To this was added, that whenever a storm began to rage and they ran before the wind, they both could weather the storm more easily and heave to securely in the shallows, and when left by the tide feared nothing from rocks and shelves: the risk of all which things was much to be dreaded by our ships.

14. Cæsar, after taking many of their towns, perceiving that so much labor was spent in vain and that the flight of the enemy could not be prevented on the capture of their towns, and that injury could not be done them, he determined to wait for his fleet. As soon as it came up and was first seen by the enemy, about two hundred and twenty of their ships, fully equipped and appointed with every kind of implement, sailed forth from the harbor, and drew up opposite to ours; nor did it appear clear to Brutus, who commanded the fleet, or to the tribunes of the soldiers and the centurions, to whom the several ships were assigned, what to do, or what system of tactics to adopt; for they knew that damage could not be done by their beaks; and that, although turrets were built, yet the height of the stems of the barbarian ships exceeded these; so that weapons could not be cast up from [our] lower position with sufficient effect, and those cast by the Gauls fell the more forcibly upon us. One thing provided by our men was of great service, sharp hooks inserted into and fastened upon poles, of a form not unlike the hooks used in attacking town walls. When the ropes which fastened the sail-yards to the masts were

ad malos destinabant, comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato, praerumpebantur. Quibus abscissis, antennae necessario concidebant, ut, quum omnis Gallĭcis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis, omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Caesăris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Dejectis, ut diximus, antennis, quum singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, quum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt; ac jam conversis in eam partem navibus, quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit, ut se ex loco movere non possent. Quae quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex omni numero, noctis interventu, ad terram pervenerint, quum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

16. Quo proelio bellum Venetōrum totiusque orae maritimae confectum est. Nam, quum omnis juventus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant; tum, navium quod ubique fuerat, unum in locum coëgerant: quibus amissis, reliqui, neque quo se reciperent, neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent, habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Caesări dediderunt. In quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum haec in Venĕtis geruntur, Quintus Titurius Sabīnus cum iis copiis, quas a Caesăre acceperat, in fines Unellōrum pervenit. His praerat Viridŏvix, ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coëgerat. Atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovīces, Lexovīique, senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt, seque cum Viridovīce conjunxerunt; magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latro-

caught by them and pulled, and our vessel vigorously impelled with the oars, they were severed; and when they were cut away, the yards necessarily fell down; so that as all the hope of the Gallic vessels depended on their sails and rigging, upon these being cut away, the entire management of the ships was taken from them at the same time. The rest of the contest depended on courage; in which our men decidedly had the advantage; and the more so, because the whole action was carried on in the sight of Cæsar and the entire army; so that no act, a little more valiant than ordinary, could pass unobserved, for all the hills and higher grounds, from which there was a near prospect of the sea were occupied by our army.

15. The sail-yards, as we have said, being brought down, although two and three ships surrounded each one, the soldiers strove with the greatest energy to board the ships of the enemy; and, after the barbarians observed this taking place, as a great many of their ships were beaten, and as no relief for that evil could be discovered, they hastened to seek safety in flight. And, having now turned their vessels to that quarter in which the wind blew, so great a calm and lull suddenly arose, that they could not move out of their place, which circumstance, truly, was exceedingly opportune for finishing the business; for our men gave chase and took them one by one, so that very few out of all the number, by the intervention of night, arrived at the land, after the battle had lasted almost from the fourth hour till sunset.

16. By this battle the war with the Venĕti and the whole of the sea coast was finished; for both all the youth, and all, too, of more advanced age, in whom there was any discretion or rank, had assembled in that battle; and they had collected in that one place whatever naval forces they had anywhere; and when these were lost, the survivors had no place to retreat to, nor means of defending their towns. They accordingly surrendered themselves and all their possessions to Cæsar, on whom Cæsar thought that punishment should be inflicted the more severely, in order that for the future the rights of ambassadors might be more carefully respected by barbarians; having, therefore, put to death all their senate, he sold the rest for slaves.

17. While these things are going on among the Venĕti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus with those troops which he had received from Cæsar, arrives in the territories of the Unelli. Over these people Viridovix ruled, and held the chief command of all those states which had revolted; from which he had collected a large and powerful army. And in those few days, the Aulerci Eburovices, and the Sexovii, having slain their senate because they would not consent to be promoters of the war, shut their gates and united themselves to Viridovix; a great multitude besides of desperate men and robbers assembled out of Gaul from all quarters, whom

numque convenerant, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et quotidiano labore revocabat. Sabīnus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, quum Viridŏvix contra eum duum millium spatio consedisset, quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut jam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabīnus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur: tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco, aut opportunitate aliqua data, legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. Hac confirmata opinione timoris, idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex his quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat; et, quid fieri velit, edocet. Qui, ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanōrum proponit; quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venĕtis prematur, docet: neque longius abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabīnus clam ex castris exercitum educat, et ad Caesărem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes, occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabīni cunctatio; perfugae confirmatio; inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum; spes Venetĭci belli; et quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti, non prius Viridovīcem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa, laeti, ut explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanōrum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus, et paulatim ab imo acclivis, circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romānis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabīnus, suos hortatus, cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea, quae ferebant, onera, subdito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum,

the hope of plundering and the love of fighting had called away from husbandry and their daily labor. Sabinus kept himself within his camp, which was in a position convenient for everything; while Viridovix encamped over against him at a distance of two miles, and daily bringing out his forces, gave him an opportunity of fighting; so that Sabinus had now not only come into contempt with the enemy, but also was somewhat taunted by the speeches of our soldiers; and furnished so great a suspicion of his cowardice that the enemy presumed to approach even to the very rampart of our camp. He adopted this conduct for the following reason: because he did not think that a lieutenant ought to engage in battle with so great a force, especially while he who held the chief command was absent, except on advantageous ground or some favorable circumstance presented itself.

18. After having established this suspicion of his cowardice, he selected a certain suitable and crafty Gaul, who was one of those whom he had with him as auxiliaries. He induces him by great gifts and promises to go over to the enemy; and informs [him] of what he wished to be done. Who, when he arrives among them as a deserter, lays before them the fears of the Romans; and informs them by what difficulties Cæsar himself was harassed by the Veneti, and that the matter was not far removed from this — that Sabinus would the next night privately draw off his army out of the camp and set forth to Cæsar for the purpose of carrying assistance, which, when they heard, they all cry out together that an opportunity of successfully conducting their enterprise, ought not to be thrown away: that they ought to go to the [Roman] camp. Many things persuaded the Gauls to this measure; the delay of Sabinus during the previous days; the positive assertion of the deserter; want of provisions, for a supply of which they had not taken the requisite precautions; the hope springing from the Venetic war; and because in most cases men willingly believe what they wish. Influenced by these things they do not discharge Viridovix and the other leaders from the council, before they gained permission from them to take up arms and hasten to [our] camp; which being granted, rejoicing as if victory were fully certain, they collected fagots and brush-wood with which to fill up the Roman trenches, and hasten to the camp.

19. The situation of the camp was a rising ground, gently sloping from the bottom for about a mile. Thither they proceeded with great speed (in order that as little time as possible might be given to the Romans to collect and arm themselves), and arrived quite out of breath. Sabinus having encouraged his men, gives them the signal, which they earnestly desired. While the enemy were encumbered by reason of the burdens which they were carrying, he orders a sally to be made suddenly from two gates. It happened, by the advantage of situation, by the unskilfulness and

superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent, ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti, magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati, paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore, et de navali pugna Sabīnus, et de Sabīni victoria Caesar certior factus: civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam, ut ad bella suscipienda Gallōrum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore, Publius Crassus, quum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte Galliae est aestimanda, quum intelligeret, in his locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis Lucius Valerius Praeconīnus legatus, exercitu pulso, interfectus esset, atque unde Lucius Mallius proconsul, impedimentis amissis, profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intelligebat. Itaque, re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolōsa, Carcasōne et Narbōne, quae sunt civitates Galliae Provinciae, finitimae his regionibus, nominatim evocatis, in Sotiātum fines exercitum introduxit. Cujus adventu cognito, Sotiātes, magnis copiis coactis equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti, primum equestre proelium commiserunt: deinde, equitatu suo pulso, atque insequentibus nostris, subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi, nostros disjectos adorti, proelium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, quum Sotiātes superioribus victoriis freti, in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent: nostri autem, quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus, adolescentulo duce, efficere possent, perspici cuperent: tamen confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero interfecto, Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sotiātum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turresque egit. Illi, alias eruptione tentata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis, (cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitāni, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae secturae sunt), ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt, seque in deditionem ut recipiat, petunt. Qua re impetrata, arma tradere jussi, faciunt.

the fatigue of the enemy, by the valor of our soldiers, and their experience in former battles, that they could not stand one attack of our men, and immediately turned their backs; and our men with full vigor followed them while disordered, and slew a great number of them; the horse pursuing the rest, left but few, who escaped by flight. Thus at the same time, Sabinus was informed of the naval battle and Cæsar of victory gained by Sabinus; and all the states immediately surrendered themselves to Titurius: for as the temper of the Gauls is impetuous and ready to undertake wars, so their mind is weak, and by no means resolute in enduring calamities.

20. About the same time, Publius Crassus, when he had arrived in Aquitania (which, as has been before said, both from its extent of territory and the great number of its people, is to be reckoned a third part of Gaul,) understanding that he was to wage war in these parts, where a few years before, Lucius Valerius Præconinus, the lieutenant, had been killed, and his army routed, and from which Lucius Manilius, the proconsul, had fled with the loss of his baggage, perceived that no ordinary care must be used by him. Wherefore, having provided corn, procured auxiliaries and cavalry, [and] having summoned by name many valiant men from Tolosa, Carcaso, and Narbo, which are the states of the province of Gaul, that border on these regions, he led his army into the territories of the Sotiātes. On his arrival being known, the Sotiātes, having brought together great forces and [much] cavalry, in which their strength principally lay, and assailing our army on the march, engaged first in a cavalry action, then when their cavalry was routed, and our men pursuing, they suddenly display their infantry forces, which they had placed in ambuscade in a valley. These attacked our men disordered, and renewed the fight.

21. The battle was long and vigorously contested, since the Sotiātes, relying on their former victories, imagined that the safety of the whole of Aquitania rested on their valor; our men, on the other hand, desired it might be seen what they could accomplish without their general and without the other legions, under a very young commander; at length the enemy, worn out with wounds, began to turn their backs, and a great number of them being slain, Crassus began to besiege the town of the Sotiātes on his march. Upon their valiantly resisting, he raised vineæ and turrets. They at one time attempting a sally, at another forming mines to our rampart and vineæ (at which the Aquitani are eminently skilled, because in many places among them there are copper mines); when they perceived that nothing could be gained by these operations through the perseverance of our men, they send ambassadors to Crassus, and entreat him to admit them to a surrender. Having obtained it, they, being ordered to deliver up their arms, comply.

22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis, alia ex parte oppidi Adcantuannus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum sexcentis devotis, quos illi Soldurios appellant, (quorum haec est conditio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur, quorum se amicitiae dediderint; si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant: neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret), cum iis Adcantuannus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, quum ad arma milites concurrissent, vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum, tamen uti eadem deditionis conditione uteretur, a Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum, et natura loci et manu munitum, paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoversus dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae, finitimae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Quinto Sertorio omnes annos fuerant, summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi, consuetudine Populi Romāni, loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci; hostem et vagari, et vias obsidere, et castris satis praesidii relinquere; ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari; in dies hostium numerum augeri; non cunctandum existimavit, quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24. Prima luce, productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem conjectis, quid hostes consilii caperent, exspectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem, et veterem belli gloriam, paucitatemque nostrorum, se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri; et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romāni sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in

22. And while the attention of our men is engaged in that matter, in another part of the town Adcantuannus, who held the chief command, with six hundred devoted followers whom they call soldurii (the conditions of whose association are these, — that they enjoy all the conveniences of life with those to whose friendship they have devoted themselves: if anything calamitous happen to them, either they endure the same destiny together with them, or commit suicide: nor hitherto, in the memory of men, has there been found any one who, upon his being slain to whose friendship he had devoted himself, refused to die); Adcantuannus, endeavoring to make a sally with these, when our soldiers had rushed together to arms, upon a shout being raised at that part of the fortification, and a fierce battle had been fought there, was driven back into the town, yet obtained from Crassus that he should enjoy the same terms of surrender.

23. Crassus, having received their arms and hostages, marched into the territories of the Vocātes and the Tarusātes. But then, the barbarians being alarmed, because they had heard that a town fortified by the nature of the place and by art, had been taken by us in a few days after our arrival there, began to send ambassadors into all quarters, to combine, to give hostages one to another, to raise troops. Ambassadors also are sent to those states of Hither Spain which are nearest to Aquitania, and auxiliaries and leaders are summoned from them; on whose arrival they proceed to carry on the war with great confidence, and with a great host of men. They who had been with Quintus Sertorius the whole period, and were supposed to have very great skill in military matters, are chosen leaders. These, adopting the practice of the Roman people, begin to select places, to fortify their camp, to cut off our men from provisions; which, when Crassus observes, [and likewise] that his forces, on account of their small number, could not safely be separated; that the enemy both made excursions and beset the passes, and left sufficient guard for their camp; that on that account, corn and provision could not very conveniently be brought up to him, and that the number of the enemy was daily increased, he thought that he ought not to delay in giving battle. This matter being brought to a council, when he discovered that all thought the same thing, he appointed the next day for the fight.

24. Having drawn out all his forces at the break of day, and marshaled them in a double line, he posted the auxiliaries in the centre, and waited to see what measures the enemy would take. They, although on account of their great number and their ancient renown in war, and the small number of our men, supposed they might safely fight, nevertheless considered it safer to gain the victory without any wound, by besetting the passes [and] cutting off the provisions: and if the Romans, on account of the want of corn, should begin to retreat, they intended to attack them while

agmine et sub sarcinis, inferiores animo, adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis Romanōrum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hae re perspecta, Crassus, quum sua cunctatione atque opinione timidiores hostes, nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, exspectari diutius non oportere, quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos, omnibus cupientibus, ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi quum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis conjectis defensores vallo munitionsbusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis, et ad aggerem cespitibus comportandis, speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent, quum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent; equites, circumitis hostium castris, Crasso renunciaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita, facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus, equitum praefectos cohortatus, ut magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit, ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis quatuor cohortibus, quae, praesidio castris relictae, intritae ab labore erant, et, longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervenerunt; atque, his prorutis, prius in hostium castris constiterunt, quam plane ab iis videri, aut, quid rei gereretur, cognosci posset. Tum vero, clamore ab ea parte audito, nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere, et fuga salutem petere contenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus, ex millium quinquaginta numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantābrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

27. Hac audita pugna, maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit, obsidesque ultro misit: quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriōnes, Preciani, Vocātes, Tarusātes, Elusātes, Garītes, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzātes, Cocosātes. Paucae ultimae nationes, anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

encumbered in their march and under baggage and depressed in spirit. This measure being approved of by the leaders, and the forces of the Romans drawn out, the enemy kept themselves in their camp. Crassus having remarked this circumstance, since the enemy, intimidated by their own delay, and by the reputation [*i.e.* for cowardice arising thence] had rendered our soldiers more eager for fighting, and the remarks of all were heard [declaring] that no longer ought delay to be made in going to the camp, after encouraging his men, he marches to the camp of the enemy, to the great gratification of his own troops.

25. There, while some were filling up the ditch, and others, by throwing a large number of darts, were driving the defenders from the rampart and fortifications, and the auxiliaries, on whom Crassus did not much rely in the battle, by supplying stones and weapons, and by conveying turf to the mound, presented the appearance and character of men engaged in fighting; while also the enemy were fighting resolutely and boldly, and their weapons, discharged from their higher position, fell with great effect; the horse, having gone round the camp of the enemy, reported to Crassus that the camp was not fortified with equal care on the side of the Decuman gate, and had an easy approach.

26. Crassus, after having exhorted the commanders of the horse to animate their men by great rewards and promises, points out to them what he wished to have done. They, as they had been commanded, having brought out the four cohorts, which, as they had been left as a guard for the camp, were not fatigued by exertion, and having led them round by a somewhat longer way, lest they could be seen from the camp of the enemy, when the eyes and minds of all were intent upon the battle, quickly arrived at those fortifications which we have spoken of, and, having demolished these, stood in the camp of the enemy before they were seen by them, or it was known what was going on. And then, a shout being heard in that quarter, our men, their strength having been recruited (which usually occurs on the hope of victory), began to fight more vigorously. The enemy surrounded on all sides, all their affairs being despaired of, made great attempts to cast themselves down over the ramparts and to seek safety in flight. These the cavalry pursued over the very open plains, and after leaving scarcely a fourth part out of the number of fifty thousand, which it was certain had assembled out of Aquitania and from the Cantabri, returned late at night to the camp.

27. Having heard of this battle, the greatest part of Aquitania surrendered itself to Crassus, and of its own accord sent hostages, in which number were the Tarbelli, the Bigerriones, the Preciani, the Vocasātes, the Tarusātes, the Elusates, the Garites, the Ausci, the Garumni, the Sibuzates, the Cocosates. A few most remote nations, relying on the time of the year, because winter was at hand, neglected to do this.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta jam aestas erat, tamen, quod, omni Gallia pacata, Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent, neque ad eum unquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit: qui longe alia ratione, ac reliqui Galli, bellum agere instituerunt. Nam quod intelligebant, maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum quum Caesar pervenisset, castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt, et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt, eosque in silvas repulerunt; et, compluribus interfectis, longius impeditioribus locis secuti, paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus, Caesar silvas caedere instituit; et, ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem collocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, quum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejusmodi tempestates sunt consecutae, uti opus necessario intermitteretur; et, continuatione imbrium, diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque, vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis, Caesar exercitum reduxit; et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus, quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.

28. About the same time Cæsar, although the summer was nearly past, yet, since, all Gaul being reduced, the Morini and the Menapii alone remained in arms, and had never sent ambassadors to him respecting peace, speedily led his army thither, thinking that that war might soon be terminated. They resolved to conduct the war on a very different method from the rest of the Gauls; for as they perceived that the greatest nations who had engaged in war, had been routed and overcome, and as they possessed continuous ranges of forests and morasses, they removed themselves and all their property thither. When Cæsar had arrived at the opening of these forests, and had begun to fortify his camp, and no enemy was in the mean time seen, while our men were dispersed on their respective duties, they suddenly rushed out from all parts of the forest, and made an attack on our men. The latter quickly took up arms and drove them back again to their forests; and having killed a great many, lost a few of their own men while pursuing them too far through those intricate places.

29. During the remaining days after this, Cæsar began to cut down the forests; and that no attack might be made on the flank of the soldiers, while unarmed and not foreseeing it, he placed together (opposite to the enemy) all that timber which was cut down, and piled it up as a rampart on either flank. When a great space had been, with incredible speed, cleared in a few days, when the cattle [of the enemy] and the rear of their baggage train were already seized by our men, and they themselves were seeking for the thickest parts of the forests, storms of such a kind came on that the work was necessarily suspended, and, through the continuance of the rains, the soldiers could not any longer remain in their tents. Therefore, having laid waste all their country, [and] having burned their villages and houses, Cæsar led back his army and stationed them in winter quarters among the Aulerci and Lexovii, and the other states which had made war upon him last.

BOOK FOURTH.

SYNOPSIS.

The events narrated in this book are those which occurred during the campaign of the year 55 B.C., in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus.

They describe Cæsar's expedition into Germany, and also his expedition into Britain, and his war subsequently with the Morini and the Menapii.

The concluding chapter represents Cæsar as fixing his winter quarters for all his legions among the Belgians, and the Roman senate as decreeing, in keeping with the despatches of Cæsar, a thanksgiving of twenty days.

C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER IV.

1. Ea, quae secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus Cnēo Pompēio, Marco Crasso Consulibus, Usipētes Germāni, et item Tenchthēri, magna cum multitudine hominum, flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, quo Rhenus influit. Causa transeundi fuit, quod, ab Suēvis complures annos exagitati, bello premebantur, et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevōrum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanōrum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula millia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manserint, se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus in vicem anno post in armis sunt; illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura, nec ratio atque usus belli, intermittitur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus: quae res, et cibi genere, et quotidiana exercitatione, et libertate vitae, quod, a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant, et vires alit, et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis, neque vestitus, praeter pelles, habeant quidquam (quarum propter exiguitatem, magna est corporis pars aperta), et laventur in fluminibus.

2. Mercatoribus est ad eos aditus, magis eo, ut quae bello ceperint, quibus vendant, habeant, quam quo ullam rem ad se importari desiderent: quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quaeque impenso parant pretio, Germāni importatis non utuntur: sed, quae sunt apud eos nata, prava atque deformia, haec quotidiana exercitatione, summi ut sint laboris, efficiunt. Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt, ac pedibus proeli-

THE

COMMENTARIES OF C. JULIUS CÆSAR

ON THE GALLIC WAR.

BOOK IV.

1. The following winter (this was the year in which Cneus Pompey and Marcus Crassus were consuls), the Usipĕtes, Germans and likewise the Tenchtheri, with a great number of men, crossed the river Rhine, not far from the place at which that river discharges itself into the sea. The motive for crossing was, that having been for several years harassed by the Suevi, they were constantly engaged in war, and hindered from the pursuits of agriculture. The nation of the Suevi is by far the largest and the most warlike of all the Germans. They are said to possess a hundred cantons, from each of which they yearly send from their territories for the purpose of war a thousand armed men: the others who remain at home, maintain themselves and those engaged in the expedition. The latter again, in their turn, are in arms the year after: the former remain at home. Thus neither husbandry, nor the art and practice of war are neglected. But among them there exists no private and separate land; nor are they permitted to remain more than one year in one place for the purpose of residence. They do not live much on corn, but subsist for the most part on milk and flesh, and are much in hunting; which circumstance must, by the nature of their food, and by their daily exercise and the freedom of their life (for having from boyhood been accustomed to no employment, or discipline, they do nothing at all contrary to their inclination), both promote their strength and render them men of vast stature of body. And to such a habit have they brought themselves, that even in the coldest parts they wear no clothing whatever except skins, by reason of the scantiness of which, a great portion of their body is bare, and besides they bathe in open rivers.

2. Merchants have access to them rather that they may have persons to whom they may sell those things which they have taken in war, than because they need any commodity to be imported to them. Moreover, even as to laboring cattle, in which the Gauls take the greatest pleasure, and which they procure at a great price, the Germans do not employ such as are imported, but those poor and ill-shaped animals, which belong to their country; these, however, they render capable of the greatest labor by daily exercise. In cavalry actions they frequently leap from their horses and fight on

antur, equosque eodem remanere vestigio assuefaciunt; ad quos se celeriter, quum usus est, recipiunt: neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.

3. Publice maximam putant esse laudem, quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari, magnum numerum civitatium suam vim sustinere non posse. Itaque una ex parte a Suēvis circiter millia passuum sexcenta agri vacare dicuntur. Ad alteram partem succedunt Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanōrum, et paulo, quam sunt ejusdem generis, etiam caeteris humaniores, propterea quod Rhenum attingunt, multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem Gallĭcis sunt moribus assuefacti. Hos quum Suēvi, multis saepe bellis experti, propter amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis, finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt, ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

4. In eadem causa fuerunt Usipētes et Tenchthēri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Suevōrum vim sustinuerunt; ad extremum tamen, agris expulsi, et multis Germaniae locis triennium vagati, ad Rhenum pervenerunt: quas regiones Menapii incolebant, et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, aedificia, vicosque habebant; sed tantae multitudinis aditu perterriti, ex his aedificiis, quae trans flumen habuerant, demigraverant; et, cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis, Germānos transire prohibebant. Illi, omnia experti, quum neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium, neque clam transire propter custodias Menapiōrum possent, reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt: et tridui viam progressi, rursus reverterunt, atque omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto, inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui, de Germanōrum discessu per exploratores certiores facti, sine metu trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis, navibusque eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiōrum, quae citra Rhenum quieta in suis sedibus erat, certior fieret, flumen transie-

foot; and train their horses to stand still in the very spot on which they leave them, to which they retreat with great activity when there is occasion; nor, according to their practice, is any thing regarded as more unseemly, or more unmanly, than to use housings. Accordingly, they have the courage, though they be themselves but few, to advance against any number whatever of horse mounted with housings. They on no account permit wine to be imported to them, because they consider that men degenerate in their powers of enduring fatigue, and are rendered effeminate by that commodity.

3. They esteem it their greatest praise as a nation, that the lands about their territories lie unoccupied to a very great extent, as by this circumstance is indicated, that a great number of nations can not withstand their power; and thus on one side of the Suevi the lands are said to lie desolate for about six hundred miles. On the other side they border on the Ubii, whose state was large and flourishing, considering the condition of the Germans, and who are somewhat more refined than those of the same race, because they border on the Rhine, and are much resorted to by merchants, and are accustomed to the manners of the Gauls, by reason of their proximity to them. Though the Suevi, after making the attempt frequently and in several wars, could not expel this nation from their territories, on account of the extent and population of their state, yet they made them tributaries, and rendered them less distinguished and powerful.

4. In the same condition were the Usipĕtes and the Tenchtheri (whom we have mentioned above), who, for many years, resisted the power of Suevi, but being at last driven from their possessions, and having wandered for three years through many parts of Germany, came to the Rhine, to districts which the Menapii inhabited, and where they had lands, houses, and villages on either side of the river. The latter people, alarmed by the arrival of so great a multitude, removed from those houses which they had on the other side of the river, and having placed guards on this side of the Rhine, proceeded to hinder the Germans from crossing. They, finding themselves, after they had tried all means, unable either to force a passage on account of their deficiency in shipping, or cross by stealth on account of the guards of the Menapii, pretended to return to their own settlements and districts; and, after having proceeded three days' march, returned; and their cavalry having performed the whole of this journey in one night, cut off the Menapii, who were ignorant of, and did not expect [their approach, and] who, having moreover been informed of the departure of the Germans by their scouts, had, without apprehension, returned to their villages beyond the Rhine. Having slain these, and seized their ships, they crossed the river before that part of the Menapii, who were at peace in their settlements over the Rhine, were apprized

runt, atque omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis, reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

5. His de rebus Caesar certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallōrum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles, et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. Est autem hoc Gallĭcae consuetudinis, uti et viatores, etiam invitos, consistere cogant; et, quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quaerant, et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat, quibusque ex regionibus veniat, quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciare cogant. His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos e vestigio poenitere necesse est, quum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita, Caesar, ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius, quam consuerat, ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, ea, quae fore suspicatus erat, facta cognovit; missas legationes a nonnullis civitatibus ad Germānos, invitatosque eos, uti ab Rheno discederent; omniaque, qua postulassent, ab se fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germāni latius jam vagabantur, et in fines Eburōnum et Condrusōrum qui sunt Trevirōrum clientes, pervenerant. Principibus Galliae evocatis, Caesar ea, quae cognoverat, dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis permulsis et confirmatis, equitatuque imperato, bellum cum Germānis gerere constituit.

7. Re frumentaria comparata, equitibusque delectis, inter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse Germānos audiebat. A quibus quum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab his venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: Germānos neque priores Populo Romāno bellum inferre neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant; quod Germanōrum consuetudo haec sit a majoribus tradita, quicunque bellum inferant, resistere, neque deprecari: hoc tamen dicere, venisse invitos, ejectos domo. Si suam gratiam Romāni velint, posse eis utiles esse amicos: vel sibi agros attribuant, vel patiantur eos tenere, quos armis possederint. Sese unis Suēvis concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares esse pos-

of [their intention]; and seizing all their houses, maintained themselves upon their provisions during the rest of the winter.

5. Cæsar, when informed of these matters, fearing the fickle disposition of the Gauls, who are easily prompted to take up resolutions, and much addicted to change, considered that nothing was to be intrusted to them; for it is the custom of that people to compel travelers to stop, even against their inclination, and inquire what they may have heard, or may know, respecting any matter: and in towns the common people throng around merchants and force them to state from what countries they come, and what affairs they know of there. They often engage in resolutions concerning the most important matters, induced by these reports and stories alone; of which they must necessarily instantly repent, since they yield to mere unauthorized reports; and since most people give to their questions answers framed agreeably to their wishes.

6. Cæsar, being aware of their custom, in order that he might not encounter a more formidable war, sets forward to the army earlier in the year than he was accustomed to do. When he had arrived there, he discovered that those things, which he had suspected would occur, had taken place; that embassies had been sent to the Germans by some of the states, and that they had been entreated to leave the Rhine, and had been promised that all things which they desired should be provided by the Gauls. Allured by this hope, the Germans were then making excursions to greater distances, and had advanced to the territories of the Eburŏnes and the Condrusi, who are under the protection of the Treviri. After summoning the chiefs of Gaul, Cæsar thought proper to pretend ignorance of the things which he had discovered; and having conciliated and confirmed their minds, and ordered some cavalry to be raised, resolved to make war against the Germans.

7. Having provided corn and selected his cavalry, he began to direct his march toward those parts in which he heard the Germans were. When he was distant from them only a few days' march, ambassadors came to him from their state, whose speech was as follows: "That the Germans neither make war upon the Roman people first, nor do they decline, if they are provoked, to engage with them in arms; for that this was the custom of the Germans handed down to them from their forefathers, — to resist whatsoever people make war upon them and not to avert it by entreaty; this, however, they confessed, — that they had come hither reluctantly, having been expelled from their country. If the Romans were disposed to accept their friendship, they might be serviceable allies to them; and let them either assign them lands, or permit them to retain those which they had acquired by their arms; that they are inferior to the Suevi alone, to whom not

sint: reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem, quem non superare possint.

8. Ad haec Caesar, quae visum est, respondit; sed exitus fuit orationis: Sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerant: neque verum esse, qui suos fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare: neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari, tantae praesertim multitudini, sine injuria possint. Sed licere, si velint, in Ubiōrum finibus considere, quorum sint legati apud se, et de Suevōrum injuriis querantur, et a se auxilium petant: hoc se ab Ubiis impetraturum.

9. Legati haec se ad suos relaturos dixerunt; et, re deliberata, post diem tertium ad Caesărem reversuros: interea, ne propius se castra moveret, petierunt. Ne id quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit: cognoverat enim, magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquot diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivarītos trans Mosam missam. Hos exspectari equites, atque ejus rei causa moram interponi, arbitrabatur.

10. Mosa profluit ex monte Vosĕgo, qui est in finibus Lingŏnum, et, parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quae appellatur Vahālis, insulam efficit Batavōrum; neque longius ab eo millibus passuum octoginta in Oceanum transit. Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiōrum, Sequanōrum, Mediomatricōrum, Tribucōrum, Trevirōrum citatus fertur; et, ubi Oceăno appropinquat, in plures diffluit partes, multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur, ex quibus sunt, qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur; multisque capitibus in Oceănum influit.

11. Caesar quum ab hoste non amplius passuum duodecim millibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur: qui, in itinere congressi, magnopere, Ne longius progrederetur, orabant. Quum id non impetrassent, petebant, Uti ad eos equites, qui agmen antecessissent, praemitteret, eosque pugna prohiberet; sibique uti potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos mittendi: quorum si principes ac senatus sibi jurejurando fidem fecissent, ea conditione, quae a Caesăre ferretur, se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Haec omnia Caesar

even the immortal gods can show themselves equal; that there was none at all besides on earth whom they could not conquer."

8. To these remarks Cæsar replied in such terms as he thought proper; but the conclusion of his speech was, "That he could make no alliance with them, if they continued in Gaul; that it was not probable that they who were not able to defend their own territories, should get possession of those of others, nor were there any lands lying waste in Gaul, which could be given away, especially to so great a number of men, without doing wrong; but they might, if they were desirous, settle in the territories of the Ubii; whose ambassadors were then with him, and were complaining of the aggressions of the Suevi, and requesting assistance from him; and that he would obtain this request from them" (Ubii).

9. The ambassadors said that they would report these things to their countrymen; and, after having deliberated on the matter, would return to Cæsar after the third day; they begged that he would not in the mean time advance his camp nearer to them. Cæsar said that he could not grant them even that; for he had learned that they had sent a great part of their cavalry over the Meuse to the Ambivariti, some days before, for the purpose of plundering and procuring forage. He supposed that they were then waiting for these horse, and that the delay was caused on this account.

10. The Meuse rises from mount Le Vosge, which is in the territories of the Lingones; and, having received a branch of the Rhine, which is called the Waal, forms the island of the Batavi, and not more than eighty miles from it it falls into the ocean. But the Rhine takes its source among the Lepontii, who inhabit the Alps, and is carried with a rapid current for a long distance through the territories of the Nantuates, Helvetii, Sequani, Mediomatrici, Tribuci, and Treviri, and when it approaches the ocean, divides into several branches; and, having formed many and extensive islands, a great part of which is inhabited by savage and barbarous nations (of whom there are some who are supposed to live on fish and the eggs of sea-fowl), flows into the ocean by several mouths.

11. When Cæsar was not more than twelve miles distant from the enemy, the ambassadors return to him, as had been arranged; who meeting him on the march, earnestly entreated him not to advance any further. When they could not obtain this, they begged him to send on a dispatch to those who had marched in advance of the main army, and forbid them to engage; and grant them permission to send ambassadors to the Ubii, and if the princes and senate of the latter would give them security by oath, they assured Cæsar that they would accept such conditions as might be proposed by him; and requested that he would give them the space of three days for negotiating these affairs. Cæsar thought that all these things tended to the self-same point; that, in conse-

eodem illo pertinere, arbitrabatur, ut, tridui mora interposita, equites eorum, qui abessent, reverterentur: tamen sese non longius millibus passuum quatuor aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit, qui nunciarent, ne hostes proelio lacesserent: et, si ipsi lacesserentur, sustinerent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat quinque millium numerus, quum ipsi non amplius octingentos equites haberent, quod ii, qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Caesăre discesserant, atque is dies indūciis erat ab eis petitus, impetu facto, celeriter nostros perturbaverunt. Rursus resistentibus nostris, consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt, suffossisque equis, compluribusque nostris dejectis, reliquos in fugam conjecerunt, atque iter perterritos egerunt, ut non prius fuga desisterent, quam in conspectum agminis nostri venissent. In eo proelio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur quatuor et septuaginta; in his vir fortissimus Piso, Aquitānus, amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat, amicus ab senatu nostro appellatus. Hic, quum fratri intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit: ipse equo vulnerato dejectus, quoad potuit, fortissime restitit. Quum circumventus, multis vulneribus acceptis, cecidisset, atque id frater, qui jam proelio excesserat, procul animum advertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit, atque interfectus est.

13. Hoc facto proelio, Caesar neque jam sibi legatos audiendos, neque conditiones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab his, qui per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, ultro bellum intulissent: exspectare vero, dum hostium copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse judicabat: et, cognita Gallōrum infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno proelio auctoritatis essent consecuti, sentiebat: quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus, et consilio cum legatis et quaestore communicato, ne quem diem pugnae praetermitte-

quence of a delay of three days intervening, their horse, which were at a distance, might return; however, he said, that he would not that day advance further than four miles for the purpose of procuring water; he ordered that they should assemble at that place in as large a number as possible, the following day, that he might inquire into their demands. In the mean time he sends messengers to the officers who had marched in advance with all the cavalry, to order them not to provoke the enemy to an engagement, and if they themselves were assailed, to sustain the attack until he came up with the army.

12. But the enemy, as soon as they saw our horse, the number of which was five thousand, whereas they themselves had not more than eight hundred horse, because those which had gone over the Meuse for the purpose of foraging had not returned, while our men had no apprehensions, because their ambassadors had gone away from Cæsar a little before, and that day had been requested by them as a period of truce, made an onset on our men, and soon threw them into disorder. When our men, in their turn, made a stand, they, according to their practice, leaped from their horses to their feet, and stabbing our horses in the belly and overthrowing a great many of our men, put the rest to flight, and drove them forward so much alarmed that they did not desist from their retreat till they had come in sight of our army. In that encounter seventy-four of our horse were slain; among them, Piso, an Aquitanian, a most valiant man, and descended from a very illustrious family; whose grandfather had held the sovereignty of his state, and had been styled friend by our senate. He, while he was endeavoring to render assistance to his brother who was surrounded by the enemy, and whom he rescued from danger, was himself thrown from his horse, which was wounded under him, but still opposed [his antagonists] with the greatest intrepidity, as long as he was able to maintain the conflict. When at length he fell, surrounded on all sides and after receiving many wounds, and his brother, who had then retired from the fight, observed it from a distance, he spurred on his horse, threw himself upon the enemy, and was killed.

13. After this engagement, Cæsar considered that neither ought ambassadors to be received to audience, nor conditions be accepted by him from those who, after having sued for peace by way of stratagem and treachery, had made war without provocation. And to wait until the enemy's forces were augmented and their cavalry had returned, he concluded, would be the greatest madness; and knowing the fickleness of the Gauls, he felt how much influence the enemy had already acquired among them by this one skirmish. He deemed that no time for concerting measures ought to be afforded them. After having resolved on those things and communicated his plans to his lieutenants and quæstor in order that he

ret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus diei mane, eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germāni, frequentes, omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt; simul, ut dicebatur, sui purgandi causa, quod contra, atque esset dictum et ipsi petissent, proelium pridie commisissent; simul ut, si quid possent, de induciis fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus, illos retineri jussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit, equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi jussit.

14. Acie triplici instructa, et celeriter octo millium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam, quid ageretur, Germāni sentire possent. Qui, omnibus rebus subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri, et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi, neque arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbantur, copiasne adversus hostem educere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere, praestaret. Quorum timor quum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri, pristini diei perfidia incitati, in castra irruperunt. Quo loco, qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt, atque inter carros impedimentaque proelium commiserunt: at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant) passim fugere coepit; ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum misit.

15. Germāni, post tergum clamore audito, quum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis, signisque militaribus relictis, se ex castris ejecerunt; et, quum ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt; atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpaucis vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, quum hostium numerus capitum quadringentorum et triginta millium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. Caesar his, quos in castris retinuerat, discendi potestatem fecit: illi supplicia cruciatusque Gallōrum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto, multis de causis Caesar statuit, sibi Rhenum esse transeundum: quarum illa fuit justissima, quod,

might not suffer any opportunity for engaging to escape him, a very seasonable event occurred, namely, that on the morning of the next day, a large body of Germans, consisting of their princes and old men, came to the camp to him to practice the same treachery and dissimulation: but, as they asserted, for the purpose of acquitting themselves for having engaged in a skirmish the day before, contrary to what had been agreed and to what, indeed, they themselves had requested; and also if they could by any means obtain a truce by deceiving him. Cæsar, rejoicing that they had fallen into his power, ordered them to be detained. He then drew all his forces out of the camp, and commanded the cavalry, because he thought they were intimidated by the late skirmish, to follow in the rear.

14. Having marshaled his army in three lines, and in a short time performed a march of eight miles, he arrived at the camp of the enemy before the Germans could perceive what was going on; who being suddenly alarmed by all the circumstances, both by the speediness of our arrival and the absence of their own officers, as time was afforded neither for concerting measures nor for seizing their arms, are perplexed as to whether it would be better to lead out their forces against the enemy, or to defend their camp, or seek their safety by flight. Their consternation being made apparent by their noise and tumult, our soldiers, excited by the treachery of the preceding day, rushed into the camp: such of them as could readily get their arms, for a short time withstood our men, and gave battle among their carts and baggage wagons; but the rest of the people, [consisting] of boys and women (for they had left their country and crossed the Rhine with all their families) began to fly in all directions; in pursuit of whom Cæsar sent the cavalry.

15. The Germans when, upon hearing a noise behind them, saw that their families were being slain, throwing away their arms and abandoning their standards, fled out of the camp, and when they had arrived at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, the survivors despairing of further escape, as a great number of their countrymen had been killed, threw themselves into the river and there perished, overcome by fear, fatigue, and the violence of the stream. Our soldiers, after the alarm of so great a war, for the number of the enemy amounted to four hundred and thirty thousand, returned to their camp, all safe to a man, very few being even wounded. Cæsar granted those whom he had detained in the camp liberty of departing. They however, dreading revenge and torture from the Gauls, whose lands they had harassed, said that they desired to remain with him. Cæsar granted them permission.

16. The German war being finished, Cæsar thought it expedient for him to cross the Rhine, for many reasons; of which this was the most weighty, that, since he saw the Germans were so easily

quum videret Germānos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, quum intelligerent, et posse et audere Populi Romāni exercitum Rhenum transire. Accessit etiam, quod illa pars equitatus Usipĕtum et Tenchtherōrum, quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse, neque proelio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sigambrōrum receperat, seque cum iis conjunxerat. Ad quos quum Caesar nuncios misisset, qui postularent, Eos, qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent, responderunt: Populi Romāni imperium Rhenum finire: si, se invito, Germānos in Galliam transire, non aequum existimaret, cur sui quidquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet? Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhenānis ad Caesārem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, Ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suēvis premerentur; vel, si id facere occupationibus Reipublicae prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum: tantum esse nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus, Ariovisto pulso, et hoc novissimo proelio facto, etiam ad ultimas Germanōrum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia Populi Romāni tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

17. Caesar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suae, neque Populi Romāni dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum, aut aliter non transducendum exercitum existimabat. Rationem igitur pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. Haec quum machinationibus immissa in flumen defixerat, fistucisque adegerat, non sublicae modo directa ad perpendiculum, sed prona ac fastigata, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent: iis item contraria bina, ad eundem modum juncta, intervallo pedum quadragenum, ab inferiore parte, contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis,

urged to go into Gaul, he desired they should have their fears for their own territories, when they discovered that the army of the Roman people both could and dared pass the Rhine. There was added, also, that portion of the cavalry of the Usipětes and the Tenchtheri, which I have above related to have crossed the Meuse for the purpose of plundering and procuring forage, and was not present at the engagement, had betaken themselves, after the retreat of their countrymen, across the Rhine into the territories of the Sigambri, and united themselves to them. When Cæsar sent ambassadors to them, to demand that they should give up to him those who had made war against him and against Gaul, they replied, "That the Rhine bounded the empire of the Roman people; if he did not think it just for the Germans to pass over into Gaul against his consent, why did he claim that anything beyond the Rhine should be subject to his dominion or power?" The Ubii, also, who alone, out of all the nations lying beyond the Rhine, had sent ambassadors to Cæsar, and formed an alliance and given hostages, earnestly entreated "that he would bring them assistance, because they were grievously oppressed by the Suevi; or, if he was prevented from doing so by the business of the commonwealth, he would at least transport his army over the Rhine; that that would be sufficient for their present assistance and their hope for the future; that so great was the name and the reputation of his army, even among the most remote nations of the Germans, arising from the defeat of Ariovistus and this last battle which was fought, that they might be safe under the fame and friendship of the Roman people." They promised a large number of ships for transporting the army.

17. Cæsar, for those reasons that I have mentioned, had resolved to cross the Rhine; but to cross by ships he neither deemed to be sufficiently safe, nor considered consistent with his own dignity or that of the Roman people. Therefore, although the greatest difficulty in forming a bridge was presented to him, on account of the breadth, rapidity, and depth of the river, he nevertheless considered that it ought to be attempted by him, or that his army ought not otherwise to be led over. He devised this plan of a bridge. He joined together at the distance of two feet, two piles, each a foot and a half thick, sharpened a little at the lower end, and proportioned in length, to the depth of the river. After he had, by means of engines, sunk these into the river, and fixed them at the bottom, and then driven them in with rammers, not quite perpendicularly, like a stake, but bending forward and sloping, so as to incline in the direction of the current of the river; he also placed two opposite to these, at the distance of forty feet lower down, fastened together in the same manner, but directed against the force and current of the river. Both these, moreover, were kept firmly apart by beams two feet thick (the space which the binding

quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat, binis utrinque fibulis ab extrema parte, distinebantur: quibus disclusis, atque in contrariam partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo, atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aquae se incitavisset, hoc arctius illigata tenerentur. Haec directa materie injecta contexebantur, et longuriis cratibusque consternebantur: ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro pariete subjectae, et cum omni opere conjunctae, vim fluminis exciperent: et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci, sive naves, dejiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat comportari, omni opere effecto, exercitus transducitur. Caesar, ad utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto, in fines Sigambrōrum contendit. Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit, obsidesque ad se adduci jubet. At Sigambri, ex eo tempore quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata, hortantibus iis, quos ex Tenchthēris atque Usipetībus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant, suaque omnia exportaverant, seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdiderant.

19. Caesar, paucos dies in eōrum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis, frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiōrum recepit; atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suēvis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit: Suēvos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito, nuncios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores, suaque omnia in silvas deponerent, atque omnes, qui arma ferre possent, unum in locum convenirent: hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum, quas Suēvi obtinerent: hic Romanōrum adventum exspectare, atque ibi decertare constituisse. Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus his rebus confectis, quarum rerum causa traducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germānis metum injiceret, ut Sigambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumptis, satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus se in Galliam recepit, pontemque rescidit.

of the piles occupied), laid in at their extremities between two braces on each side, and in consequence of these being in different directions and fastened on sides the one opposite to the other, so great was the strength of the work, and such the arrangement of the materials, that in proportion as the greater body of water dashed against the bridge, so much the closer were its parts held fastened together. These beams were bound together by timber laid over them, in the direction of the length of the bridge, and were covered over with laths and hurdles; and in addition to this, piles were driven into the water obliquely, at the lower side of the bridge, and these, serving as buttresses, and being connected with every portion of the work, sustained the force of the stream: and there were others also above the bridge, at a moderate distance; that if trunks of trees or vessels were floated down the river by the barbarians for the purpose of destroying the work, the violence of such things might be diminished by these defenses, and might not injure the bridge.

18. Within ten days after the timber began to be collected, the whole work was completed, and the whole army led over. Cæsar, leaving a strong guard at each end of the bridge, hastens into the territories of the Sigambri. In the mean time, ambassadors from several nations come to him, whom, on their suing for peace and alliance, he answers in a courteous manner, and orders hostages to be brought to him. But the Sigambri, at the very time the bridge was begun to be built, made preparations for a flight (by the advice of such of the Tenchtheri and Usipĕtes as they had among them), and quitted their territories, and conveyed away all their possessions, and concealed themselves in deserts and woods.

19. Cæsar, having remained in their territories a few days, and burned all their villages and houses, and cut down their corn, proceeded into the territories of the Ubii; and having promised them his assistance, if they were ever harassed by the Suevi, he learned from them these particulars: that the Suevi, after they had by means of their scouts found that the bridge was being built, had called a council, according to their custom, and sent orders to all parts of their state to remove from the towns and convey their children, wives, and all their possessions into the woods, and that all who could bear arms should assemble in one place; that the place thus chosen was nearly the centre of those regions which the Suevi possessed; that in this spot they had resolved to await the arrival of the Romans, and give them battle there. When Cæsar discovered this, having already accomplished all these things on account of which he had resolved to lead his army over, namely, to strike fear into the Germans, take vengeance on the Sigambri, and free the Ubii from the invasion of the Suevi, having spent altogether eighteen days beyond the Rhine, and thinking he had advanced far enough to serve both honor and interest, he returned into Gaul, and cut down the bridge.

20. Exigua parte aestatis reliqua, Caesar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Galli ad septemtriones vergit, maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat: et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset: quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adiit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quidquam, praeter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones, quae sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque, evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo, neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad haec cognoscenda, prius quam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus, Caium Volusenum cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat, uti, exploratis omnibus rebus, ad se quam primum revertatur: ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus, et quam superiore aestate ad Venetĭcum bellum fecerat, classem jubet convenire. Interim, consilio ejus cognito, et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus ejus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare, atque imperio Populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus hortatusque, ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit; et cum his una Commium, quem ipse, Atrebatĭbus superatis, regem ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in iis regionibus magni habebatur, mittit. Huic imperat, quas possit, adeat civitates, horteturque, ut Populi Romani fidem sequantur; seque celeriter eo venturum nunciet. Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur; quaeque ibi perspexisset, renunciat.

22. Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et

20. During the short part of the summer which remained, Cæsar, although in these countries, as all Gaul lies toward the north, the winters are early, nevertheless resolved to proceed into Britain, because he discovered that in almost all the wars with the Gauls succor had been furnished to our enemy from that country; and even if the time of the year should be insufficient for carrying on the war, yet he thought it would be of great service to him if he only entered the island, and saw into the character of the people, and got knowledge of their localities, harbors, and landing-places, all which were for the most part unknown to the Gauls. For neither does any one except merchants generally go thither, nor even to them was any portion of it known, except the sea-coast and those parts which are opposite to Gaul. Therefore, after having called up to him the merchants from all parts, he could learn neither what was the size of the island, nor what or how numerous were the nations which inhabited it, nor what system of war they followed, nor what customs they used, nor what harbors were convenient for a great number of large ships.

21. He sends before him Caius Volusenus with a ship of war, to acquire a knowledge of these particulars before he in person should make a descent into the island, as he was convinced that this was a judicious measure. He commissioned him to thoroughly examine into all matters, and then to return to him as soon as possible. He himself proceeds to the Morini with all his forces, because thence was the shortest route into Britain. He orders ships from all parts of the neighboring countries, and the fleet which the preceding summer he had built for the war with the Venĕti, to assemble in this place. In the mean time, his purpose having been discovered, and reported to the Britons by merchants, ambassadors come to him from several states of the island, to promise that they will give hostages, and submit to the government of the Roman people. Having given them an audience, he after promising liberally, and exhorting them to continue in that purpose, sends them back to their own country, and with them Commius, whom, upon subduing the Atrebătes, he had created king there, a man whose courage and conduct he esteemed, and who he thought would be faithful to him, and whose influence ranked highly in those countries. He orders him to visit as many states as he could, and persuade them to embrace the protection of the Roman people, and apprize them that he would shortly come thither. Volusenus, having viewed the localities as far as means could be afforded one who dared not leave his ship and trust himself to barbarians, returns to Cæsar on the fifth day, and reports what he had there observed.

22. While Cæsar remains in these parts for the purpose of procuring ships, ambassadors come to him from a great portion of the Morini, to plead their excuse respecting their conduct on the late occasion; alleging that it was as men uncivilized, and as those

nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum Populo Romāno fecissent, seque ea, quae imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi satis opportune Caesar accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat, neque has tantularum rerum occupationes sibi Britanniae anteponendas judicabat, magnum his obsidum numerum imperat. Quibus adductis, eos in fidem recepit. Navibus circiter octoginta onerariis coactis contractisque, quod satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quidquid praeterea navium longarum habebat, quaestori, legatis, praefectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant octodecim onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco ab millibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent. Has equitibus distribuit; reliquum exercitum Quinto Titurio Sabino et Lucio Aurunculēio Cottae legatis, in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinōrum, ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, deducendum dedit. Publium Sulpicium Rufum legatum, cum eo praesidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

23. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, et se sequi jussit: a quibus quum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora diei circiter quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci haec erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam in anchoris exspectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Volusēno cognovisset, et quae fieri vellet, ostendit, monuitque (ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimae res postularent, ut quae celerem atque instabilem motum haberent), ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

24. At barbari, consilio Romanōrum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat

who were unacquainted with our custom, that they had made war upon the Roman people, and promising to perform what he should command. Cæsar, thinking that this had happened fortunately enough for him, because he neither wished to leave an enemy behind him, nor had an opportunity for carrying on a war, by reason of the time of year, nor considered that employment in such trifling matters was to be preferred to his enterprise on Britain, imposes a large number of hostages; and when these were brought, he received them to his protection. Having collected together, and provided about eighty transport ships, as many as he thought necessary for conveying over two legions, he assigned such [ships] of war as he had besides to the quæstor, his lieutenants, and officers of cavalry. There were in addition to these eighteen ships of burden which were prevented, eight miles from that place, by winds, from being able to reach the same port. These he distributed among the horse; the rest of the army, he delivered to Quintus Titurius Sabinus and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta, his lieutenants, to lead into the territories of the Menapii and those cantons of the Morini from which ambassadors had not come to him. He ordered Publius Sulpicius Rufus, his lieutenant, to hold possession of the harbor, with such a garrison as he thought sufficient.

23. These matters being arranged, finding the weather favorable for his voyage, he set sail about the third watch, and ordered the horse to march forward to the further port, and there embark and follow him. As this was performed rather tardily by them, he himself reached Britain with the first squadron of ships, about the fourth hour of the day, and there saw the forces of the enemy drawn up in arms on all the hills. The nature of the place was this: the sea was confined by mountains so close to it that a dart could be thrown from their summit upon the shore. Considering this by no means a fit place for disembarking, he remained at anchor till the ninth hour, for the other ships to arrive there. Having in the mean time assembled the lieutenants and military tribunes, he told them both what he had learned from Volusenus, and what he wished to be done; and enjoined them (as the principle of military matters, and especially as maritime affairs, which have a precipitate and uncertain action, required) that all things should be performed by them at a nod and at the instant. Having dismissed them, meeting both with wind and tide favorable at the same time, the signal being given and the anchor weighed, he advanced about seven miles from that place, and stationed his fleet over against an open and level shore.

24. But the barbarians, upon perceiving the design of the Romans, sent forward their cavalry and charioteers, a class of warriors of whom it is their practice to make great use in their battles, and following with the rest of their forces, endeavored to prevent our men landing. In this was the greatest difficulty, for

ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem, nisi in alto, constitui non poterant; militibus autem ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi armorum onere oppressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum, et in fluctibus consistendum, et cum hostibus erat pugnandum: quum illi aut ex arido, aut paululum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expediti, notissimis locis audacter tela conjicerent, et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnae imperiti, non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consueverant, nitebantur.

25. Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior, et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus, et remis incitari, et ad latus apertum hostium constitui, atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis, hostes propelli ac submoveri jussit: quae res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura, et remorum motu, et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt, ac paulum modo pedem retulerunt. Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret: Desilite, inquit, commilitones, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum Reipublicae atque imperatori officium praestitero. Hoc quum magna voce dixisset, ex navi se projecit, atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri, cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt: hos item alii ex proximis navibus quum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter; nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare, neque firmiter insistere, neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscunque signis occurrerat, se aggregabat, magnopere perturbabantur. Hostes vero, notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur: plures paucos circumsistebant: alii ab latere aperto in universos tela conjiciebant. Quod quum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit, et quos laborantes conspexerat, iis subsidia submittebat. Nostri, simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis, in hostes

the following reasons, namely, because our ships, on account of their great size, could be stationed only in deep water; and our soldiers, in places unknown to them, with their hands embarrassed, oppressed with a large and heavy weight of armor, had at the same time to leap from the ships, stand amid the waves, and encounter the enemy; whereas they, either on dry ground, or advancing a little way into the water, free in all their limbs, in places thoroughly known to them, could confidently throw their weapons and spur on their horses, which were accustomed to this kind of service. Dismayed by these circumstances and altogether untrained in this mode of battle, our men did not all exert the same vigor and eagerness which they had been wont to exert in engagements on dry ground.

25. When Cæsar observed this, he ordered the ships of war, the appearance of which was somewhat strange to the barbarians and the motion more ready for service, to be withdrawn a little from the transport vessels, and to be propelled by their oars, and be stationed toward the open flank of the enemy, and the enemy to be beaten off and driven away, with slings, arrows, and engines: which plan was of great service to our men; for the barbarians being startled by the form of our ships and the motions of our oars and the nature of our engines, which was strange to them, stopped, and shortly after retreated a little. And while our men were hesitating, chiefly on account of the depth of the sea, he who carried the eagle of the tenth legion, after supplicating the gods that the matter might turn out favorably to the legion, exclaimed, "Leap, fellow soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy. I, for my part, will perform my duty to the commonwealth and my general." When he had said this with a loud voice, he leaped from the ship and proceeded to bear the eagle toward the enemy. Then our men, exhorting one another that so great a disgrace should not be incurred, all leaped from the ship. When those in the nearest vessels saw them, they speedily followed and approached the enemy.

26. The battle was maintained vigorously on both sides. Our men, however, as they could neither keep their ranks, nor get firm footing, nor follow their standards, and as one from one ship and another from another assembled around whatever standards they met, were thrown into great confusion. But the enemy, who were acquainted with all the shallows, when from the shore they saw any coming from a ship one by one, spurred on their horses, and attacked them while embarrassed; many surrounded a few, others threw their weapons upon our collected forces on their exposed flank. When Cæsar observed this, he ordered the boats of the ships of war and the spy sloops to be filled with soldiers, and sent them up to the succor of those whom he had observed in distress. Our men, as soon as they made good their footing on dry ground, and

impetum fecerunt, atque eos in fugam dederunt; neque longius proseui potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesări defuit.

27. Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Caesărem legatos de pace miserunt: Obsides daturos, quaeque imperasset sese facturos, polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrĕbas venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Caesăre in Britanniam praemissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, quum ad eos oratoris modo imperatoris mandata perferret, comprehenderant, atque in vincula conjecerant: tum, proelio facto, remiserunt, et in petenda pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Caesar questus quod, quum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiae dixit, obsidesque imperavit: quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem, ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam, paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt: principesque undique convenire, et se civitatesque suas Caesări commendare coeperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves octodecim, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quae quum appropinquarent Britanniae, et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectae, referrentur; aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo dejicerentur: quae tamen, anchoris jactis, quum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectae continentem petierunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena; qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceăno efficere consuevit: nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus complebat; et onerarias, quae ad anchoras erant deligatae, tempestas afflictabat; neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi, aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquae quum essent, funibus, anchoris, reliquisque arma-

all their comrades had joined them, made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, but could not pursue them very far, because the horse had not been able to maintain their course at sea and reach the island. This alone was wanting to Cæsar's accustomed success.

27. The enemy being thus vanquished in battle, as soon as they recovered after their flight, instantly sent ambassadors to Cæsar to negotiate about peace. They promised to give hostages and perform what he should command. Together with these ambassadors came Commius the Atrebatian, who, as I have above said, had been sent by Cæsar into Britain. Him they had seized upon when leaving his ship, although in the character of ambassador he bore the general's commission to them, and thrown into chains: then after the battle was fought, they sent him back, and in suing for peace cast the blame of that act upon the common people, and entreated that it might be pardoned on account of their indiscretion. Cæsar, complaining that after they had sued for peace, and had voluntarily sent ambassadors into the continent for that purpose, they had made war without a reason, said that he would pardon their indiscretion, and imposed hostages, a part of whom they gave immediately; the rest they said they would give in a few days, since they were sent for from remote places. In the mean time they ordered their people to return to the country parts, and the chiefs proceeded to assemble from all quarters, and to surrender themselves and their states to Cæsar.

28. A peace being established by these proceedings four days after we had come into Britain, the eighteen ships, to which reference has been made above, and which had conveyed the cavalry, set sail from the upper port with a gentle gale, when, however, they were approaching Britain, and were seen from the camp, so great a storm suddenly arose that none of them could maintain their course at sea; and some were taken back to the same port from which they had started; — others, to their great danger, were driven to the lower part of the island, nearer to the west; which, however, after having cast anchor, as they were getting filled with water, put out to sea through necessity in a stormy night, and made for the continent.

29. It happened that night to be full moon, which usually occasions very high tides in that ocean; and that circumstance was unknown to our men. Thus, at the same time, the tide began to fill the ships of war which Cæsar had provided to convey over his army, and which he had drawn up on the strand; and the storm began to dash the ships of burden which were riding at anchor against each other; nor was any means afforded our men of either managing them or of rendering any service. A great many ships having been wrecked, inasmuch as the rest, having lost their cables, anchors, and other tackling, were unfit for sail-

mentis amissis, ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est: neque enim naves erant aliae, quibus reportari possent; et omnia deerant, quae ad reficiendas eas usui sunt: et, quod omnibus constabat, hiemare in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniae, qui post proelium factum ad ea, quae jusserat Caesar, facienda convenerant, inter se collocuti, quum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intelligerent, et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, quae hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta, frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere, et rem in hiemem producere, quod, iis superatis aut reditu interclusis, neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant.

31. Itaque, rursus conjuratione facta, paulatim ex castris discedere, ac suos clam ex agris deducere coeperunt. At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum, et ex eo, quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id quod accidit suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat: nam et frumentum ex agris quotidie in castra conferebat, et quae gravissime afflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur, et quae ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari jubebat. Itaque, quum id summo studio a militibus administraretur, duodecim navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quae apellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, quum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii, qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Caesari renunciaverunt, pulverem majorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Caesar, id quod erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes, quae in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci, duas ex reliquis in stationem succedere, reliquas armari, et confestim sese subsequi jussit. Quum paulo longius a

ing, a great confusion, as would necessarily happen, arose throughout the army; for there were no other ships in which they could be conveyed back, and all things which are of service in repairing vessels were wanting, and corn for the winter had not been provided in those places, because it was understood by all that they would certainly winter in Gaul.

30. On discovering these things the chiefs of Britain, who had come up after the battle was fought to perform those conditions which Cæsar had imposed, held a conference, when they perceived that cavalry, and ships, and corn were wanting to the Romans, and discovered the small number of our soldiers from the small extent of the camp (which, too, was on this account more limited than ordinary, because Cæsar had conveyed over his legions without baggage), and thought that the best plan was to renew the war, and cut off our men from corn and provisions and protract the affair till winter; because they felt confident, that, if they were vanquished or cut off from a return, no one would afterward pass over into Britain for the purpose of making war.

31. Therefore, again entering into a conspiracy, they began to depart from the camp by degrees and secretly bring up their people from the country parts. But Cæsar, although he had not as yet discovered their measures, yet, both from what had occurred to his ships, and from the circumstance that they had neglected to give the promised hostages, suspected that the thing would come to pass which really did happen. He therefore provided remedies against all contingencies; for he daily conveyed corn from the country parts into the camp, used the timber and brass of such ships as were most seriously damaged for repairing the rest, and ordered whatever things besides were necessary for this object to be brought to him from the continent. And thus, since that business was executed by the soldiers with the greatest energy, he effected that, after the loss of twelve ships, a voyage could be made well enough in the rest.

32. While these things are being transacted, one legion, which was called the seventh, had been sent to forage, according to custom, and no suspicion of war had arisen as yet, and some of the people remained in the country parts, others went backward and forward to the camp, they who were on duty at the gates of the camp reported to Cæsar that a greater dust than was usual was seen in that direction in which the legion had marched. Cæsar, suspecting that which was — that some new enterprise was undertaken by the barbarians, ordered the two cohorts which were on duty, to march into that quarter with him, and two other cohorts to relieve them on duty; the rest to be armed and follow him immediately. When he had advanced some little way from the camp, he saw that his men were overpowered by the enemy and scarcely able to stand their ground, and that, the legion being

castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi, atque aegre sustinere, et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conjici, animadvertit. Nam quod, omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis delituerant: tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant: simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33. Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae: primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt, atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant; et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverint, ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt, atque ita currus collocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant, ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34. Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae, tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit: namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto, ad lacessendum et ad committendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratus, suo se loco continuit, et brevi tempore intermisso, in castra legiones reduxit. Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui, discesserunt. Secutae sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quae et nostros in castris continerent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuncios in omnes partes dimiserunt, paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt, et quanta praedae faciendae, atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romānos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus celeriter magna multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

35. Caesar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut, si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent; tamen nactus equites circiter triginta, quos Commius Atrĕbas, de

crowded together, weapons were being cast on them from all sides. For as all the corn was reaped in every part with the exception of one, the enemy, suspecting that our men would repair to that, had concealed themselves in the woods during the night. Then attacking them suddenly, scattered as they were, and when they had laid aside their arms, and were engaged in reaping, they killed a small number, threw the rest into confusion, and surrounded them with their cavalry and chariots.

33. Their mode of fighting with their chariots is this: firstly, they drive about in all directions and throw their weapons and generally break the ranks of the enemy with the very dread of their horses and the noise of their wheels; and when they have worked themselves in between the troops of horse, leap from their chariots and engage on foot. The charioteers in the mean time withdraw some little distance from the battle, and so place themselves with the chariots that, if their masters are overpowered by the number of the enemy, they may have a ready retreat to their own troops. Thus they display in battle the speed of horse, [together with] the firmness of infantry; and by daily practice and exercise attain to such expertness that they are accustomed, even on a declining and steep place, to check their horses at full speed, and manage and turn them in an instant and run along the pole, and stand on the yoke, and thence betake themselves with the greatest celerity to their chariots again.

34. Under these circumstances, our men being dismayed by the novelty of this mode of battle, Cæsar most seasonably brought assistance; for upon his arrival the enemy paused, and our men recovered from their fear; upon which thinking the time unfavorable for provoking the enemy and coming to an action, he kept himself in his own quarter, and, a short time having intervened, drew back the legions into the camp. While these things are going on, and all our men engaged, the rest of the Britons, who were in the fields, departed. Storms then set in for several successive days, which both confined our men to the camp and hindered the enemy from attacking us. In the mean time the barbarians dispatched messengers to all parts, and reported to their people the small number of our soldiers, and how good an opportunity was given for obtaining spoil and for liberating themselves forever, if they should only drive the Romans from their camp. Having by these means speedily got together a large force of infantry and of cavalry, they came up to the camp.

35. Although Cæsar anticipated that the same thing which had happened on former occasions would then occur — that, if the enemy were routed, they would escape from danger by their speed; still, having got about thirty horse, which Commius the Atrebatian, of whom mention has been made, had brought over with him, he drew up the legions in order of battle before the camp. When

quo ante dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. Commisso proelio, diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt, ac terga verterunt. Quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt; deinde, omnibus longe lateque afflictis incensisque, se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati, ab hostibus missi ad Caesărem de pace, venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit, quod, propinqua die aequinoctii, infirmis navibus, hiemi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat. Ipse, idoneam tempestatem nactus, paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit, quae omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt; sed ex his onerariae duae eosdem, quos reliquae, portus capere non potuerunt, et paulo infra delatae sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus quum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti, atque in castra contenderent, Morĭni, quos Caesar, in Britanniam proficiscens, pacatos reliquerat, spe praedae adducti, primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt, ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt. Quum illi orbe facto sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter millia sex convenerunt. Qua re nunciata, Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt, atque amplius horis quatuor fortissime pugnaverunt, et, paucis vulneribus acceptis, complures ex iis occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt, magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Caesar postero die Titum Labienum legatum cum iis legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morĭnos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui quum propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent, non haberent, quo perfugio superiore anno fuerant usi, omnes fere in potestatem Labiēni venerunt. At Quintus Titurius et Lucius Cotta legati, qui in Menapiōrum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesărem receperunt. Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt; reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex literis Caesăris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

the action commenced, the enemy were unable to sustain the attack of our men long, and turned their backs; our men pursued them as far as their speed and strength permitted, and slew a great number of them; then, having destroyed and burned every thing far and wide, they retreated to their camp.

36. The same day, ambassadors sent by the enemy came to Cæsar to negotiate a peace. Cæsar doubled the number of hostages which he had before demanded; and ordered that they should be brought over to the continent, because, since the time of the equinox was near, he did not consider that, with his ships out of repair, the voyage ought to be deferred till winter. Having met with favorable weather, he set sail a little after midnight, and all his fleet arrived safe at the continent, except two of the ships of burden which could not make the same port which the other ships did, and were carried a little lower down.

37. When our soldiers, about three hundred in number, had been drawn out of these two ships, and were marching to the camp, the Morini, whom Cæsar, when setting forth for Britain, had left in a state of peace, excited by the hope of spoil, at first surrounded them with a small number of men, and ordered them to lay down their arms, if they did not wish to be slain; afterward however, when they, forming a circle, stood on their defense, a shout was raised and about six thousand of the enemy soon assembled; which being reported, Cæsar sent all the cavalry in the camp as a relief to his men. In the mean time our soldiers sustained the attack of the enemy, and fought most valiantly for more than four hours, and, receiving but few wounds themselves, slew several of them. But after our cavalry came in sight, the enemy, throwing away their arms, turned their backs, and a great number of them was killed.

38. The day following Cæsar sent Titus Labienus, his lieutenant, with those legions which he had brought back from Britain, against the Morini, who had revolted; who, as they had no place to which they might retreat, on account of the drying up of their marshes (which they had availed themselves of as a place of refuge the preceding year), almost all fell into the power of Labienus. In the mean time Cæsar's lieutenants, Quintus Titurius and Lucius Cotta, who had led the legions into the territories of the Menapii, having laid waste all their lands, cut down their corn and burned their houses, returned to Cæsar because the Menapii had all concealed themselves in their thickest woods. Cæsar fixed the winter quarters of all the legions among the Belgæ. Thither only two British states sent hostages; the rest omitted to do so. For these successes, a thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed by the senate upon receiving Cæsar's letter.

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